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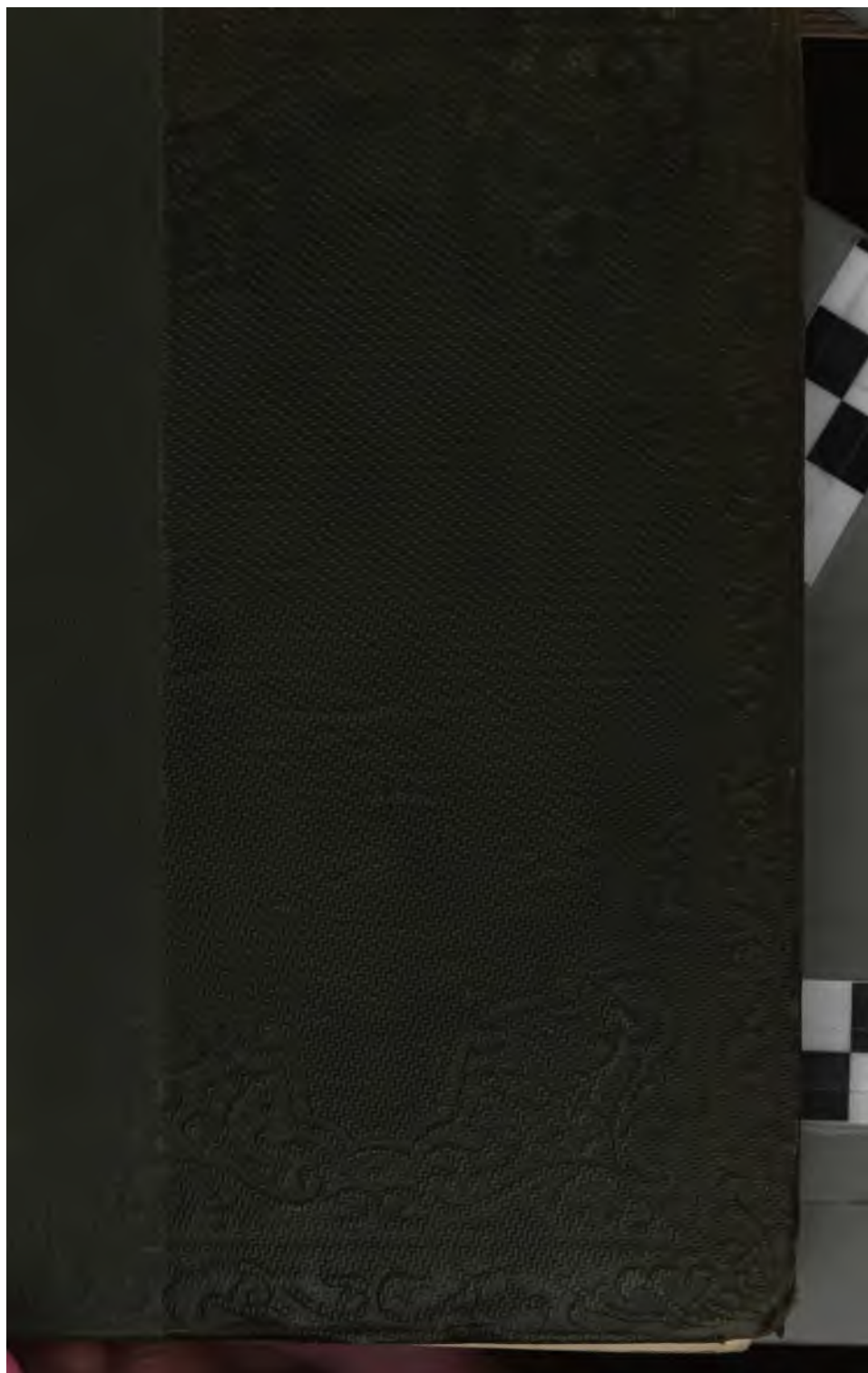
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JAPAN  
AND  
THE JAPANESE:  
COMPRILING  
THE NARRATIVE OF A  
CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN,  
AND AN ACCOUNT OF  
BRITISH COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THAT COUNTRY

BY  
CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN,  
OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY.

*New and Revised Edition.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:  
COLBURN AND CO., PUBLISHERS,  
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.  
1853.

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has therefore been, only in a partial degree, accessible to the English public. These considerations have suggested the republication of the present work.

The extraordinary incidents connected with the captivity of Captain Golownin and his companions, impart a strange romantic interest to the Narrative itself; whilst, in detailing his singular adventures, the author unfolds a vast multitude of curious facts relative to the manners and customs of the people. Other details of the same kind, combined with a mass of useful information on subjects connected with the government, laws, commerce and general state of the country, will be found in the "Recollections of Japan," subjoined to the Narrative. The Introductory Chapter prefixed to the work, will not, it is hoped, be deemed superfluous at the present moment, when circumstances seem to promise a renewal of the commercial relations which in former times existed, though in a very restricted form, between the English and the Japanese.

The shrewd intelligence and unprejudiced feeling of Captain Golownin enabled him to observe closely, and to form an accurate and unbiassed judgment of many peculiar traits in the national character of that people, towards whom the attention of the civilized world is at present directed. The inferences which our author

*Legation*  
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

frequently draws from his knowledge of the Japanese character, may afford useful hints to those negotiators on whom may devolve the task of establishing friendly intercourse between the Japanese and the other branches of the great family of mankind. That such intercourse will ere long be established, seems to be a fact as little doubtful as the speedy annihilation of Japanese isolation and exclusiveness.

T. R.

LONDON, 1852.

## EXPLANATION

OF WORDS AND TERMS, CHIEFLY RUSSIAN, WHICH OCCUR  
IN THE FOLLOWING WORK.



*Baidar* or *baidare*—a kind of boat used in the Kurile Islands and on the coasts of Japan.

*Copek*—the hundredth part of a rouble, in value about a half-penny.

*Eessaul*—a chief or officer.

*Isprawnik*—the captain or chief of a district.

*Kibitka*—a kind of travelling carriage.

*Kwass*—a strong liquor.

*Natschalnik*—chief commander.

*Parkis*—large cloaks made of the skins of quadrupeds or birds.

*Pood*—the weight of one pood is 40 Russian or 36 English pounds.

*Rouble*—a rouble is in general worth about 4s. 2d., but the value varies according to the course of exchange.

*Step* or *steppe*—a desert or extensive heath.

*Tschetwerik*—the 8th part of a tschetwert, which is equal to  $5\frac{1}{4}$  Winchester bushels.

*Werst* or *verst*—a measure of length containing 500 sazsheens or fathoms, each 7 feet English; 2 English miles are equal to 3 Russian wersts.

N.B.—When the depth of water is expressed in fathoms, the measure is 6 feet, the same as the English fathom.

The Russians frequently use patronymics in the names of persons; forming the patronymic, in the case of persons of quality, by the addition of *vitsch* or *itsch* to the Christian name of the father. Thus, Captain Golownin is sometimes called Wassili Michaelo-vitsch, and so with others.

Most of the Japanese words are explained as they occur.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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EARLY in the reign of James I., the lucrative trade carried on by Spain, Portugal, and Holland, with Japan, induced some merchants of the English India Company to prepare an expedition to the last mentioned country. The project was favoured by the circumstance of an Englishman happening then to be at the Court of Japan. This person, whose name was William Adams, and who acted as an ambassador, though unaccredited, proved of essential service in assisting the first attempts of the English to trade with the Japanese.

Adams had been a master in the navy in the reign of Elizabeth, and he afterwards entered into the employment of the Barbary Company; but, being actuated by a desire to acquire a knowledge of Indian navigation, he engaged himself as pilot on board the Admiral's ship of a fleet of five sail, fitted out by the Dutch India Company. These vessels, half mercantile, half piratical, sailed from the Texel in 1598, passed through the Straits of Magellan to the Pacific in 1599, and cruized for some time on the coasts of

Chili and Peru. Being at length obliged to leave the coast, they resolved, as a large part of their cargo consisted of woollen cloth, to proceed to Japan. This course was suggested by a man who had been to Japan with the Portuguese, and who affirmed that the cargo was more likely to find a sale there, than at the Moluccas, or in the other parts of India, with which Europeans were then acquainted.

Owing to accidents which occurred in the course of the voyage, the fleet was reduced to one ship, and at its arrival on the coast of Japan on the 19th of April, 1600, there were only seven persons, including Adams, who were capable of duty. On approaching the shore of Bongo, the vessel cast anchor, when the crews of a number of Japanese boats went on board, and though they offered no personal violence, yet they stole everything they could lay their hands on. Their depredations were, however, speedily checked; for soldiers were sent on board the next day to protect the property, and shortly afterwards the vessel was conveyed into a safe harbour, there to remain, until orders should be received from the Emperor respecting her disposal. At the same time, the greatest kindness was shown to the people on board; they were allowed to land, and an hospital was provided for the sick, and a comfortable place of abode for those who were still well. It is a curious fact, that a jealousy of English interference in the Japan trade even then began to manifest itself, though there were but two Englishmen on board the ship—William Adams, and Timothy Shotten, also engaged as pilot, and who had been round the world with Candish. A Jesuit and some other Portuguese from Nangasaky, assured the Japanese, that their English visitors were not merchants, but pirates, which

inspired the people with such a very bad impression of these two unfortunate men, that they expected every hour to be crucified, as a punishment for their alleged crimes. Nor were the Dutch backward in aiding the Portuguese in their evil designs. Two Dutchmen, who had entered the Japanese service, claimed all the property on board the ship, and did all in their power to injure the English cause.

A short time after their arrival, an order came for Adams to go to the court, where, through the medium of a Japanese who could speak Portuguese, the Emperor asked him numerous questions respecting England, his religion, the political state of Europe, the route by which he had arrived, &c. This interview lasted several hours, during which Adams informed the Emperor, that England was at war with Spain and Portugal. He entreated that the English might be granted the same commercial privileges as the Portuguese and Spaniards. To this the Emperor made some reply, which, however, Adams did not understand. He had another interview with the Emperor two days afterwards, and on that occasion he assured his Majesty that he had not visited Japan with any treacherous design, but "from the general disposition of his nation, which was to cultivate friendship and commerce with all other countries by exchanging their own commodities for theirs, whereby mutual riches and advantages were obtained."

After this, Adams experienced better treatment, but was detained six weeks in confinement; during which time the Jesuits and other Portuguese spared no endeavours to prejudice the Japanese against the two Englishmen, alleging that they were robbers, and that, if they were suffered to live, it would turn out greatly to the



disadvantage of Japan, since every other nation would come to rob the country; but that, if justice were to be administered, it would deter such intruders from going there again. To these representations the Emperor answered, that as yet these strangers had done no harm to him or his subjects, and therefore it was against reason and justice to put them to death.

In 1605, Adams, anxious to return to his country, requested the Emperor to permit him to depart; promising that he would engage both the English and Dutch to open commercial intercourse with Japan. The Emperor, however, answered, that he wished Adams to remain in Japan, but that he was desirous that the English should trade there; directing him, at the same time, to write home for that purpose, and also to address such of his countrymen as might be in any part of India. In consequence of this, Adams wrote several letters, and gave them in charge to the Dutch captain, who was permitted to leave Japan; but he, after arriving at Malacca, was killed in an action with the Portuguese. Adams remained without any communication with his countrymen until 1611, when, hearing that some English merchants were at the Island of Java, he wrote to them a letter, the superscription of which was: "To my unknown friends and countrymen."

This letter, when brought to Bantam, on the 28th of October, 1612, was delivered to Captain John Saris and his companions, and "was read to all the merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes there were of trade in that country" (Japan).

Captain Saris, with three ships, had sailed from the Downs in April, 1611. Having visited all the European ports on the eastern coast of Africa, he proceeded to

Mocha, in Arabia, and arrived at Bantam in October, 1612. In January, 1612-13, he sailed for Japan, leaving two of his ships behind him at Bantam. His vessel was manned with twenty-four Englishmen, one Spaniard, one Japanese, and five Indians; and it appears that the principal part of his cargo consisted of seven hundred sacks of pepper. It is needless to follow him in his adventurous course, until he arrived off Japan, the coast of which was seen, for the first time, by an English ship, on the 9th of June, 1613. On the 11th of that month, Captain Saris anchored at Firando, a small island lying off the west coast of Bongo, or Xicoco, where he was received in the most friendly manner by the governor, or as he calls him, King, Foyne Sama, and many of the nobility and people.

On a visit of ceremony which the governor paid to Saris on board his ship, the captain delivered a letter from King James, which was received with great satisfaction; but the governor declined opening it until Adams, who was sent for, should be present as interpreter.

The Dutch at this period had a factory at Firando; and the chief, Kenrick Brower, "came aboard, to visit the General (Saris), or rather to see what passed between the governor and them."

On the 13th, Saris delivered his presents to the governor, amounting in value to about one hundred and forty pounds amongst them was a large cup, which the governor ordered to be filled with sagi, and then drank it off to the health of the King of England. Several days now passed in demonstrations of mutual friendship and good-will, notwithstanding the efforts made to prejudice the Japanese against their visitors. Purchas relates, that on the 29th, "a soma, or junke of the Flemings arrived at Nangasaky from Siam, laden with Brazil-wood and skins of all sorts,

wherein it was said that there were Englishmen, but proved to be Flemings. For that, before our coming they passed generally by the name of Englishmen; for our English nation had been long known by report among them, but much scandalized by the Portuguese Jesuits as pirates, and rovers upon the seas."

Pending the return of an answer from the Emperor, Captain Saris prepared to enter upon his commercial transactions; and, in the course of his inquiries, he ascertained that part of his cargo, consisting of broad cloths, was likely to realize a good price, the Dutch then selling cloths, which had only cost fifteen or sixteen pounds per piece, at the enormous profit of eight pounds for two and a half yards, there called a *mat*. Saris was aware that the Dutch had a considerable quantity in their warehouses; and, though he could well have afforded to undersell them in the market, yet he chose to act a more liberal part, and he proposed to the chief of their factory, that a price should be mutually fixed on, below which, neither party was to fall. "In the morning, the chief of the factory seemed to approve thereof, but ere night, sent word that he disliked it, excusing himself that he had no warrant from his masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of cloth to divers islands, rating them at these prices, viz.: at twenty, eighteen, and sixteen rials the *mat*" (instead of *forty*, the former price), "that he might procure the more speedy dispatch of his own, and glut the place before the coming of ours."

It may be useful to future speculators, to present here a slight view of the value of some of the principal articles of commerce at that period: Bantam pepper, ungarbled,

which cost at Bantam about one and three-fourth rials, or five shillings and two-pence per sack, was worth, at Japan, two pounds ten shillings; tin, per pecul of one hundred and thirty pounds, was worth two pounds ten shillings; elephants' teeth, per pecul, twenty pounds; iron, cast in pigs, one pound ten shillings; gun-powder, five pounds fifteen shillings; Socotrine aloes, one pound ten shillings per cattee, of about twelve ounces; a fowling-piece five pounds; and Indian calicoes, at proportionate prices, according to their quality. ✓

Intelligence of the arrival of the English ship soon spread far and wide; and several of the neighbouring princes, came to Firando to gratify their curiosity, and to request that the Englishmen might proceed to their several islands, where they should receive the heartiest welcome. About the end of the month of July, William Adams made his appearance, and conferred with Captain Saris, in the presence of the merchants, "touching the encouragement he could give of trade in those parts, and it was not always alike, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, yet doubted not but we should do as well as others: giving admirable commendations of the country, as much affected thereto."

A circumstance now took place, connected with the progress of Northern discovery, which has not generally been noticed by writers on that subject. "This day," says Captain Saris, in his journal, "there came to Firando, certain Spaniards of Mr. Adams' acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for Bantam. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish gentleman, their general, who, about a year past, were come (upon the King of Spain's charge), from Nova Hispania, to discover to the northward of Japan, and, arriving at Edoo, attending the



monsoon to go to the northward, which beginneth in the end of May, his company (whereof these were two), mutinied against him, every one taking his own way, leaving the ship utterly unmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keep them out of my ship."

Preparations were now made for a journey to court, which the governor of Firando was so certain would be permitted, and even desired, that he offered to supply all the boats, horses, and provisions necessary, and requested a list of those who were to go, in order that he might provide for them in the handsomest manner possible. If we compare the presents then given with those given in more recent times to the Chinese Emperors, the contrast is very striking. Those for the Emperor amounted in value only to eighty-seven pounds, seven shillings, and sixpence; those for his son to forty-three pounds, fifteen shillings; and the remainder for different officers of state, merely raised the sum total to one hundred and eighty pounds, three shillings, and ten-pence!

On the 7th of August Captain Saris set off for the Japanese Court, accompanied by ten Englishmen, and attended by a sufficient retinue. He passed through a populous country, proceeding partly by boats; and he soon arrived at a town called Fuccate, where he "did land and dine there in the towne, the tyde and wind so strong against us, as that we could not passe. The towne seemed to be as greate as London is within the walls, very well built, and even, so as you may see from the one end of the street to the other. The place is exceedingly peopled, very civil and courteous, only that at our landing, and being here in Fuccate, and so through the whole country, whithersoever we came, the boys, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about and follow

after us, crying "Core, Core, Cocore ware," that is to say, "you Coreans with false hearts;" wondering, whooping, hallooing, and making such a noise about us, that we could scarcely hear one another speak; sometimes throwing stones at us (but that not in many towns), yet the clamour and crying after us was everywhere alike, none reproving them for it. The best advice that I can give those who hereafter shall arrive there, is that they pass on without regarding those idle rabblements, and in so doing, they shall find their ears only troubled with the noise."

The Japanese Court was, at this period, at Surunga, where Captain Saris arrived early in September. The account of his reception, in his own words, is highly curious.

After minutely describing all the ceremonies which preceded his introduction to the imperial presence, he thus concludes: "Coming to the Emperor, according to our English compliments, I delivered our King's letter unto his Majestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it up towards his forehead, and commanded his interpreter, who sate a good distance from him behind, to will Master Adams to tell me, that I was welcome from a wearisome journey, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and that his answer should be readie for our King. Then he asked me whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at Edoo. I answered, I did. The Emperor said, that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and horses for the journey, and against my return his letters should be readie for our King. So taking my leave of the Emperor, I came to the door where I had left the secretarie and the admiral, &c."

On the ensuing day, Captain Saris "delivered the

articles of privilege," fourteen in number, and they received the sanction of the Emperor, who affixed his seal to them.

The probable future importance of these articles, may warrant their insertion here.

"Privileges granted by Ogoshosama, Emperor of Japan, unto the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor, and others the Honourable and Worshipful Adventurers to the East Indies :

✓ "I. IMPRIMIS. We give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, viz., Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and Company of the East Indian merchants and adventurers, for ever safely to come into any of our ports of our empire of Japan, with their shippes and merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their owne manner, with all nations ; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasures.

"II. ITEM. We grant unto them freedom of custom, for all such merchandizes as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our kingdome, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part. And doe authorize those shippes that hereafter shall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further coming or sending up to our court.

"III. ITEM. If any of their shippes shall happen to lie in danger of shipwrecke, we will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of shippes and goods as shall be saved, be returned to their captains, or Cape merchants or their assignes. And that they shall, or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of



our empire, where they shall think fittest, and at their departure to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

“IV. ITEM. If any of the English merchants, or other, shall depart this life, within our dominions, the goods of the deceased, shall remaine at the disposal of the Cape merchant. And that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said Cape merchant, according to his discretion: and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

“V. ITEM. We will that ye, our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or returne of their wares again unto them.

“VI. ITEM. For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our service and proper use; We will, that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be made with the Cape merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

“VII. ITEM. If in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their shippes, they shall neede men or victuals, We will, that ye our subjects, furnish them for their money, as their needs shall require.

“VIII. ITEM. And that without other passeport, they shall, and may set out upon the discovery of Yeadzo, or any other part in or about our empire.

“From our castle in Surunga, the first day of nine month, and in the eighteenth year of our Dary, according to our computation. Sealed with our broad Seale.

(Underwritten),

“MINNA MOTTONO,  
“Yei. Ye. Yeas.”

On the receipt of these articles of privilege, Saris prepared for departing from Surunga, on his return to Firando, to join his ship, well pleased with the happy success of his embassy. Its fortunate issue was the more remarkable, as, only a month previous to his arrival, the Emperor, being displeased with the Christians, and the Catholic missionaries, had issued a decree, that all the converts should remove to Nangasaky; and that no Christian church should stand, nor mass be sung, within ten leagues of his court, under pain of death.

On arriving at Firando, he experienced a friendly welcome: but he found that very few goods had been sold, and that only privately, in consequence of the rule, that no stranger should be permitted to offer goods for sale, without the express imperial permission: and here the following extract is not unimportant. "Besides our chiefest commoditie intended for these parts, being broad cloth, the natives were now more backward to buy than before, because, they saw that wee ourselves were no forwarder in weering the thing, which wee recommended unto them. For, said they, you commend your cloath unto us, but you, yourselves, wear leest thereof, the better sort of you wearing silken garments, the meaner, fustians, &c. Whereupon, hoping that good counsel may (though late) come to some good purpose, I wish that our nation would be more forward to use and spend the natural commodities of our own country, so shall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainments and expence thereof."

Saris was much annoyed at this period with quarrels amongst his people, several of whom went on shore for the purpose of fighting, but were happily prevented; for the old Governor Foyne Sama told him plainly, that if

any came on shore to fight, and shed blood in his country, he would order them to be cut in pieces, as he could not permit that Englishmen, in that point, should have more licence than his own subjects.

It was now determined to establish a factory at Firando. Mr. Richard Cocks was appointed Captain and Cape merchant of the factory, and had with him seven Englishmen, three Japanese interpreters, and two servants; Adams being one of the Englishmen, and next in rank to Cocks, with a salary of one hundred pounds per annum. Saris next received a letter from the Chief or Governor of Firando, addressed to the King of England, expressive of his high satisfaction at the arrival of English ships, and promising to render the factory every service in his power. On the 4th of December, Saris sailed for England, where he drew up a list of such articles as he considered most likely to suit the Japan trade, for the use of the Indian Company.

These were broad cloths, black yellow and red; fine baizes of the same colours, well napped; serges; silk grograms and camblets; velvets; musk, sold for its weight in silver; India cloths, satins, damasks, Holland cloths, diaper, thread of all colours, carpets for tables, gilded leather painted with pictures and flowers; painted pictures, especially those representing battles by sea or land; quicksilver, vermilion, paint and cosmetics; copper, in plates; lead in small bars, lead in thin sheets; tin in blocks, iron, steel; tapestry, leaf-gold, gold-twist or sewing gold; sugar in candy and in powder; gauzes, raw silk, silk-thread; glass of all kinds; salt; blank paper books; Spanish soap, amber; silk stockings, fine leather, glove leather; candle-wax, honey, pepper, spices, drugs, especially columbo root; coloured wood

for cabinet ware; eleplants' tusks, harts' horns gilded; rock-alum, &c.

The returns he stated to consist of hemp, blue dye stuffs, almost as good as indigo, various other dye-stuffs, brimstone, cotton, wool, and rice.

The factory being established, trade was carried on upon a liberal footing, under the protection of the chiefs of Firando, whom our merchants there called the old and young kings. Junks were purchased and employed in trade with Siam, and other places, under the command of Adams. In the mean time the Emperor published his decree, banishing all Jesuits, priests, friars and nuns from Japan, shipping some of them for Macao, and others for Manilla, and burning all their churches and monasteries; but without any molestation to the English factory. A civil war was also on the point of breaking out, which induced the Emperor to purchase their military stores, and lead; besides a quantity of their cloths. It was further stated, in a letter written by Cocks to Saris, dated the 10th of December, 1614, that the stipulations respecting relief from all further visits to the Emperor was broken through, as every ship on her arrival "must carry a present to the Emperor; neither can we set out any junks, without procuring the yearly licence from the Emperor, otherwise no Japan mariner dare go out of Japan upon pain of death, only our owne shippes from England may come in, and goe out againe, when they will, and no man gainsay it."

Cocks further spoke of the difficulty of opening a trade with Corea: indeed at this period we had no communication with China, and Cocks in another letter to a friend said, that the good report and fame which the English nation had obtained since the establishment of a factory,

and which had found its way to the Chinese Court, was likely to open an intercourse with that country.

During the years 1615—16, the factors at Firando were not only engaged in the Japanese trade, but also busily employed in carrying on mercantile dealings with Siam, the Loo Choo Islands. This was under the immediate patronage of the Emperor, who seems to have admitted the most friendly intercourse with the English in many points, whilst the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and even the Dutch were treated with coldness and disrespect. It appears, however, from a letter written by the chief of the factory, in February 1617, that some of their commercial objects were yet unattained, as he says “wee have beene this yeare againe before the Emperor of Japan, but cannot get our privileges enlarged; but trade only at Firando and Langasqué” (Nangasaky), “and our English shipping to come for Firando only.”

At this period, the English character suffered considerably from the conduct of the Dutch, who had a squadron cruizing in these seas against the Spaniards; but which also carried on a predatory war against the Chinese, at the same time calling themselves Englishmen. There can be no doubt that this was one of the causes, which subsequently excited jealousy in the counsels of the Japanese government. Cocks in one of his letters of 1617, says, that the Dutch were actually permitted, by the Japanese, to bring their Chinese prizes into Firando and sell them, although that privilege had been previously refused to Captain Saris. In this same letter, Cocks also complains of the hostile conduct of the Dutch to the English factory, on the arrival of a large fleet, when they attacked our factory, and would actually have put all the English merchants to the sword, had it not been for the interfer-

ence of the Japanese; but he states that the Governor of Firando, refused "to execute justice against them, although the Emperor commanded him to do it."

Though the communications with the factory at Firando had generally been through the medium of Bantam, as a kind of entrepôt, yet there occurred several instances of direct intercourse between England and Japan, especially in 1621, when Captain Pring visited Japan in the 'James Royal.' The Japanese were highly delighted with the ship, she being one thousand tons burthen; an interview was also had with the Emperor, and everything seemed to promise the most continued friendship.

At the close of 1622, Cocks wrote home to Saris, who was then in England, informing him of great intestine troubles in Japan, and the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy against the Emperor. These events seem to have had a very unfavourable effect on British interests, by the prejudice thereby excited against all foreigners. At the close of his letter, Cocks says: "Thus much I thought good to advise you, of the present state of Japan, much altered from that it was, at your being heere, and for the rest I hope to tell you by word of mouth at my returne unto England, which I hope to do the next yeare, God sparing me life and libertie." The return of Cocks to England seems to have been accompanied by the breaking up of the whole plan.

Alluding to the factory, Sir T. Raffles, in the Appendix to his "History of Java," says, that one great object, at the commencement, with the English India Company, appears to have been to introduce themselves to a connection with the Chinese, and to carry on a general trade between India, China, and Japan. But finding themselves

disappointed in their endeavours to form connections with China, and sustaining heavy losses in consequence of their trade with Japan, they determined, in 1623, to abandon their establishment there: a resolution which, though at the time it might be a subject of regret may prove favourable in its final results, as it certainly prevented any personal hostilities between the British and Japanese nations.

At the very moment, however, when troubles were beginning in England, which for a time impeded almost all commercial enterprise, circumstances occurred in Japan which operated most powerfully at a subsequent period to prevent the renewal of our intercourse with that country. In the early part of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had sent several fleets to Japan, from which they derived considerable profit; and their spirit of commercial monopoly induced them to excite jealousy against both the English and the Portuguese, in the hope of excluding them from Japan. But the conduct of the missionaries effected that which Dutch intrigue might perhaps have failed to accomplish. The Portuguese and other Jesuits had been very favourably received by the Japanese, and had made many converts, when a civil war broke out. That event had been mainly promoted by religious dissensions; and a report was soon raised, and as readily believed, that it was the intention of the Jesuits to deliver up Japan to the King of Portugal, to whom they were stated to have made the offer. The King was declared to be at that time fitting out eight large ships, well manned, filled with troops, and provided with everything necessary for an enterprise of such magnitude.

Such a force, of itself, could not, it is true, be of any avail against so large and populous an empire; but



it was given out that the Portuguese depended for success on the good intelligence which the Jesuits were known to hold with many of the most powerful princes and nobles, whom they had converted to the Catholic faith, and who were quite ready to put arms into the hands of their vassals. By this means it might have been possible to raise a force fully sufficient to overpower the imperial army, and to put the Emperor to death, had he refused to submit to Portuguese dominion. No sooner was this account circulated and believed, than measures were taken to drive all the Portuguese from Japan. Their expulsion was effected in 1641; and the measure was accompanied by the massacre of a number of priests, and a host of their converts.

The Dutch, who now eagerly availed themselves of the prejudice against the Portuguese, for some time maintained almost a free commerce with Japan, which yielded them immense profit. To secure their advantages, they judged it expedient to establish a regular embassy to Jeddo, to the temporal Emperor, every three years, making him many valuable presents, and carefully communicating everything which could augment the jealousy against Portugal and England.

That the profits of the Japanese trade were then immense, is a fact shown by Sir T. S. Raffles, in his History of Java. In the first volume of that interesting work it is stated, that from the earliest establishment of the trade of the Dutch with Japan, down to the year 1671, their speculations were unrestricted, and their profits enormous; but it must still be acknowledged that the period in question was the golden age of Dutch commerce. The trade of the Dutch with Japan might perhaps have continued prosperous, had they acted

with due prudence ; but Sir T. S. Raffles describes them as having opened a mine of wealth, which they fondly, though erroneously, supposed to be inexhaustible. In 1640, the Dutch Company actually obtained a return in gold, that yielded a profit of upwards of a million of guilders. For some time previous to 1663, they were accustomed to procure a return of silver to the extent of two hundred chests of one hundred pounds each ; and it was hoped that as many chests of gold of the same weight would be sent in future. In these expectations, however, they speedily found themselves disappointed ; and, as Sir T. S. Raffles informs us, the golden and silver ages of Japanese commerce being past, the latter part of the seventeenth century began with what the Dutch call its "Brazen Age," in reference to its exports of copper, an article which has ever since continued the staple of the Japan market. ✓

Such was the state of the Dutch trade with Japan, when the settlement of the intestinal troubles in England by the Restoration, revived the spirit of commercial enterprise ; and an expedition was fitted out in 1673, under the immediate approval and patronage of Charles II. This expedition proceeded first to India, stopped at Bantam, and arrived at Nangasaky in June, 1674, under the direction of Simon Delboe, Hammond Gibben, and William Ramsden.

The limits of this notice do not admit of anything beyond a sketch of the most material points in relation to this attempt at renewed intercourse. Some boats having come along-side of the ship on its first arrival off Nangasaky, the people refused to go on board, when they understood it was an English vessel ; but they requested the strangers to come to anchor, whilst at the same time

it was stipulated that no guns should be fired, nor trumpets sounded. Shortly after, the governor and his secretary went on board, and were received with every respect. The captain told them that he came with licence from the King of England, for the East India Company, to carry on trade and hold intercourse with them, as had been done several years before. He added, that he had brought letters from the King, and from the East India Company to the Japanese Emperor, presenting at the same time a copy of the articles granted at the first establishment of the factory, in 1612. The Japanese governor and his assistants perused the articles with much attention, and then asked for the original document, with the Emperor's seal attached to it. The English captain replied, that when the establishment was broken up, the original treaty was returned to the Imperial Council. The Japanese then inquired whether England was at peace with Spain and Portugal; how long King Charles had been married to the Portuguese Infanta, and how many children they had? The captain seems now to have suspected some difficulties would arise from this Portuguese connection, and attempted to explain it away by saying, that although Charles had been married about eleven years, yet he had no children by the Queen, and that it was customary for our kings to marry with their equals to strengthen their alliances, and for other reasons of State, and not with their own subjects. He then informed them that he had some presents for the Emperor, which seemed to afford great satisfaction; after which, the Japanese enquired what was the religion of the English. The answer was, that we were not Papists, but of the same sect of Christianity as the Dutch. The next question was, what goods were brought; this was answered

in general terms ; the Japanese seemed content, and their whole party returned on shore.

Two hours afterwards the same party went on board again, and said, that if the English would be content to trade as the Dutch did, they should be permitted to do so ; but then, according to the Japanese custom, it was necessary that the guns, ammunition and boats, should be delivered into their hands to be conveyed ashore, under the pledge that nothing should be appropriated. They next promised to send to the Emperor, on receipt of whose answer the English were to be permitted to go on shore and to have a house. Notwithstanding all which apparent friendship, they began to show their jealousy, by placing boats all round the ship, filled with soldiers. The Japanese governor then examined every one of the ship's crew personally, having a Dutchman to assist, and asking every individual whether he was a Portuguese or not, or could speak that language. After some unimportant questions, the governor went on shore, taking with him the ship's boats, and as much of the ammunition as could be conveyed.

On the following day, the same Japanese returned on board, and commenced their operations by asking a number of questions. It was enquired what was the reason of so long an intermission of intercourse as forty-nine years ? The answer was "that for the space of about twenty years, we had had civil wars in England, and twice war with the Dutch, and that it required no little consideration to resolve upon so long a voyage, it being very difficult and dangerous." The Japanese then asked if any person on board had ever been in that country before ; and being answered in the negative, their surprise was very great at the ship having entered the

harbour without a pilot ; nor were their surprise or their fears diminished when they were shown the charts, by help of which the ship was brought in, although they professed to appear content. This morning they were permitted to carry on shore the remainder of the ammunition, leaving not even a musket or sword on board belonging to any individual, and carrying with them a double-barrelled gun and some pistols for the Emperor. The captain in his account of the transaction says : “ They accurately noted down everything they took on shore, and compared their accounts in the great cabin before the secretary, who approved thereof, and with great courtesy took his leave, promising that with all speed we should have an answer from Jeddo, and admittance to trade. I gave them thanks, and said we no ways questioned their honourable performance : they said they would not take our great guns ashore, but leave them aboard for our conveniency.”

The next day the governor and his attendants repeated their visit to the ship, asked a vast number of questions, and thus gave the English captain an opportunity of refuting several falsehoods, which the Dutch had already begun to disseminate, particularly about the supposed connexion between the English and some pirates, by whom the Japanese had recently been alarmed and annoyed. They also held a second examination of the crew, enquiring particularly into every man’s little stock of private trade ; they measured the ship, the masts, and yards ; and in going away promised to send off anything that might be wanted, and again assured the captain that they had sent to the Emperor, and they took leave expressing a hope that the English would be cheerful and contented. The journal kept by the captain contained the following :—

“NOTE. That all questions they put to us they did it in the Portugal language, and were answered in the same, or Spanish, and then put the same into Dutch again ; and thus they constantly did, asking one thing five or six times over, and every time had their answer for their more certain understanding ; so that all persons in these parts should have one or both these languages.”

About two days afterwards, some Japanese officers went on board, and asked a number of questions about the various sects of Christianity in Europe, and the nations professing each.

At this juncture, the arrival of two Dutch ships from Batavia gave rise to new difficulties. After these ships had anchored, the governor's chief secretary, with seven interpreters returned to the English vessel, and told the captain, that they had been examining the Dutch commander, who informed them that the English and the French were in alliance, and carrying on war against the Hollanders. “Then,” pursues the English captain in his Journal, “they asked me, that, as the Hollanders and we had made peace five or six years since, and promised to assist each other, and were both of one religion, how it came to pass that we fell out with the Dutch, and joined the French, that was a Roman Catholic ? I answered, that when we came from England, all was at peace, and at our being at Bantam, the like, and that we knew of no wars more than what they now told me these two ships had brought advice of, much less could I give any reason for the same ; and that I did not believe what the Dutch reported, unless there came news from England or Bantam to confirm it. Then they showed me a paper signed by Mr. Martinus Cæsar, chief for the Dutch here,

wherein he declared the above-said news to be true, and hath promised the governor of this place, that, notwithstanding there was war between the two nations, that in this port, both by water and land, he and his men should live peaceably by us, as likewise in any part of the Emperor of Japan's country, for such were his commands; and, therefore, required of me to sign the like paper, with promises that I and our nation should live peaceably with the Dutch, and not put any affronts upon them; which, if we did as they desired, they told us, the Emperor would protect us, though but new comers unto his country, as much as he should the Dutch. For which I returned him thanks, and made him the same promises, and signed to a paper in the Japan character, according to their custom.

"This they several times repeated, that we should have the same friendship as the Dutch, although they have been there many years, and we but newly come; but they expected our peaceable living both here and upon their coast; and that, as soon as the Emperor's answer came from Jeddo, they would provide all things ashore for our convenience and security. They required me to promise, that when the other ships came that we expected, they should do the like, which I did. I also proposed to them, that since there was war between the two nations, they would let our ships depart first out of their ports, for the Dutch were like to be double the number of ships to us, and in case they went out first, in all probability they would be in wait for us, and fight us at our going to sea; which proposition they said was but reason, and that upon receiving the Emperor's orders for our reception, we might propose that, or anything we judged necessary."

All these details are marked by good sense and moderation on the part of the Japanese, and apparent good-will towards the English.

A few days afterwards, the negociation came to a close ; as the Captain's journal states that "on the 28th of July, in the morning about ten o'clock, came on board our ship with three boats, the chief secretaries, one banjoise, with seven interpreters, and other attendants. They told us they had received letters from the Emperor, whom they had acquainted with our being here, and with the intent of our coming to trade, upon account of our former friendship (all which, as they were advised, had been considered), 'but in regard our King was married with the daughter of Portugal their enemy, they could not admit us to have any trade, and for no other reason.' This they said was the Emperor's pleasure, and express orders ; and therefore they could make no alteration in it. They likewise said, we must be gone with the first wind, nay, within twenty days. I replied it was impossible for us to go till the monsoons changed. They asked how many days we desired ? I replied forty-five days hence, I supposed the winds might be favourable. They said what provisions we wanted to supply our occasions we should have, and seemed to give consent to our staying until the monsoons changed. They did express themselves very sorry that we could not be admitted to trade. I several times alleged, that we had licence by our last articles to come here and trade, and that we had been nigh two years upon this voyage ; wherefore, I desired, again and again, that we might be admitted to sell this ship's lading of goods. They said they could make no alteration in what the Emperor had commanded ; that we must begone, and come hither no more ; for by reason of our alliance with



Portugal they would not admit us. They told us we should have our ammunition, &c., again, and so departed."

Unwilling to give up at once every chance of commercial intercourse, the captain, with laudable perseverance, determined to try another method of introducing English goods to the notice of the people. Accordingly he made a signal the next day for the interpreters, to whom he made a demand for provisions, wood, water, &c., to a considerable amount, telling them that he had no more money, and desiring them to take payment in goods, offering them English cloths or Chinese silks, as might be preferred. They took a memorandum of his request, promising to return the next day and bring some supplies; but, so tenacious were they of the Emperor's order, that they would only engage to take Chinese goods in return: an arrangement to which the captain was obliged to assent, though very unwillingly.

Notwithstanding this apparent strictness, yet the interpreters, bunyos and others, went on board two days afterwards, inquiring after English rarities, and offering to purchase them; but the prices they offered were so small that nothing was sold. Next day, the chief magistrate and secretaries went to look at the English goods, carrying with them, when they went on shore, several articles of British manufacture to show to the governor.

On the 26th of August, when preparations were nearly made for departure, the chief magistrate and secretaries once more visited the ship. After a long discussion, the Japanese promised that the Dutch ships in port should not be permitted to sail for two months, in which time the English might arrive at Bantam; and a parting scene took place "with much outward courtesy and seeming

reluctancy, for our not being admitted by the Emperor to settle a trade here."

The return of the ship to England, and the total failure of the enterprise on which she had been engaged, did not discourage the India Company from cherishing the hope of renewing commercial relations with the Japanese. With a view to that result, they established a factory on the Island of Honan; but ignorance of the true principles of the trade, together with mismanagement, and heavy losses of various kinds, at length chilled their spirit of enterprise and perseverance, and the settlement was abandoned in 1682. The Chinese trade, however, appeared an object of too much importance to be lightly given up; accordingly every means were used to establish it; but it was not until the last year of the seventeenth century, 1699, that it could be considered as settled on a permanent footing. In that year the factory at Canton was directed to effect, if possible, a communication with Japan through the medium of China. The results of these attempts were by no means commensurate with the hopes that had prompted them, and all thoughts of a Japanese trade seemed for some time abandoned; nor is this surprising, when it is recollected that in 1740, the profits of the trade to the Dutch, were so trifling that their Company actually contemplated the removal of their factory, and the cessation of mercantile intercourse: their annual ships then never exceeding two instead of eight or nine, as in former years.

From 1699 to 1792, the Japanese trade seems to have been almost unthought of; but in the last-mentioned year a select committee of India Directors was appointed for special investigation. That committee reported that an export trade to Japan could never become an object of

importance to our manufacturers, or serve as a vent for our produce, on the ground that the only returns must be in copper, an article produced by our own mines, to the full extent of home consumption, and foreign exportation.

It is, however, a curious fact, that an English vessel, commanded by an Englishman (Captain Stuart), actually visited Japan in 1797 and 1798. Nor is it less curious, that the vessel carried American colours, with an American pass, and was sent thither by the Dutch authorities at Batavia. This fact is stated in "Raffles' Java," in a note extracted from a work by Hogendorp.

It is naturally to be expected, that the extreme caution habitual to the Japanese with respect to foreigners, arising out of their strict municipal regulations, must tend greatly at first to check free communication and friendly intercourse with commercial speculators. Yet it is important to observe, that the distrust is rather on the part of the government than of the people, as is manifest from several facts stated by Captain Broughton, of his Majesty's ship 'Providence,' who surveyed the Japanese Seas in 1795-6-7, although, upon the whole, he was perfectly correct in saying that the same unremitting jealousy of foreigners seemed to prevail in every part of those seas at which the 'Providence' touched. Although the requests of the crew for supplies of wood and water were readily complied with, yet any wish of exploring the interior of the country, or of gaining a more perfect knowledge of its government, produce, and manners, was invariably and pertinaciously resisted.

In his first visit, Captain Broughton landed only at Insu, the southern part of the island of Jesso, near Matsmai, where the natives visited him at sea, and were civil to him on shore. So, indeed, were the few Japanese he

met there, though they were very anxious for his departure, and even prevented him, as far as possible, from having any intercourse with the people. In fact, the Japanese there did not scruple to go on board the 'Providence,' asking many questions, showing Captain Broughton their maps and charts, and displaying some knowledge of the Russian language, for they were able to converse with a seaman of that country then on board. Some of them even dined on board in the most friendly manner ; and upon the whole, they seemed more afraid of their own government than of their foreign visitors.

It is worthy of notice, also, that even when off Jeddo, the seat of empire, the 'Providence' was visited by many fishing-boats, which liberally supplied her crew with fish, without seeming to expect anything in return, a proceeding altogether at variance with the cautious and insulting conduct which marks their intercourse with Europeans, when under the restrictions of their government. After the wreck of the 'Providence,' Captain Broughton returned to the coast, in a small schooner, and when off Nambu, was again visited by fishing-boats, filled with people, who came out of curiosity to look at the English. Some of these people actually came on board the schooner, and pressed her crew to go ashore. Captain Broughton returned to Endormo harbour, in Jesso, where he was received in the most friendly manner by the inhabitants, until checked by the Japanese authorities, who came from Matsmai expressly, as it was stated, to look after the English, and prevent all intercourse, anxiously, but civilly urging their departure, and evidently acting under orders not perfectly congenial with their own wishes.

Krusenstern, in his account of the first European inter-

course with Japan, states a fact which is not elsewhere recorded, viz.: that in 1803, a company of English merchants in Calcutta sent a ship, very richly laden, under the command of Captain Torey, to Nangasaky; but she was ordered to quit the Japanese coast in twenty-four hours. He states also that the Americans failed in a similar project about two years previously.

Langsdorff, who entered into more minute and useful particulars than it was possible for Krusenstern to do, gives the instructions delivered by the Japanese to Laxman in 1792, respecting the laws of that country in regard to foreign intercourse. It is a law that all ships, particularly if armed, even though they come in fleets, shall immediately be put under arrest; that no persons are permitted to go into the interior of the country without leave, especially if armed, and that those who do so, and are captured, must never be permitted to return to their own country; that merchant vessels of other nations, or merchants, can only come to such places as are pointed out to them, and that with all ships of war, intercourse is strictly forbidden, under whatever pretence they may appear on the Japanese coasts.

Some light is thrown upon the commercial wishes of the Japanese, by the questions put to the Russian embassy, conducted to Japan by Captain Krusenstern in the year 1805. These questions were, whether Russia could furnish sugar, rye, skins, medicines, "and many other articles;" expressing, at the same time, much curiosity as to the number of ships which might be annually sent to Nangasaky. From an occurrence which took place at this interview, it is evident also that optical instruments, from a pair of spectacles upwards, would soon become important objects of trade.

Langsdorff most pointedly alludes to the extreme secrecy observed by the Japanese authorities, and the singular circumspection with which every step, on their part, was taken ; every thought, every question, every word, was weighed in the nicest manner, apparently with some particular aim in view. It seemed as if the least error would cost the life even of persons of the highest rank. As an example of the extreme mystery that prevails, not only with reference to foreigners, but even among the natives, the interpreters acknowledged that the name of the reigning Emperor was always kept a profound secret, and that the people never knew it until after the death of the sovereign.

Langsdorff's details of the ceremonies which attended his reception are highly amusing, and may be useful to future speculators. It was avowed that the restrictions on foreign intercourse arose from the injunctions of an Emperor who had lived one hundred and fifty years previously. Although since that period several foreign nations had at various times endeavoured to establish an intercourse of friendship and commerce with Japan, yet those offers had been invariably repulsed, not only in consequence of long-established prohibition, but also because it was considered dangerous to form ties of friendship with unknown foreign powers, which could not be founded on equality. The refusal to receive the presents brought by the Russian envoy was explained upon the principle that if they were accepted, the Japanese Emperor, according to custom, which was their law, would be obliged to send back presents of equal value under the care of an ambassador ; and that there is a strict prohibition against either the natives or the ships of Japan quitting the country ; moreover, the country was stated

to be so poor, that it was impossible to return anything like equivalent presents. The reception of the ambassador was refused upon similar pretences.

It is curious to observe the strange sort of commercial policy which betrayed itself in the course of the negotiations. It was stated that Japan has no great wants, and therefore has little occasion for foreign productions; that her few real wants, as well as those she has contracted by custom, are readily supplied by the Dutch and Chinese, and luxuries are things which it is not wished should be introduced; that it would be, besides, very difficult to establish an extensive trade, since that must, almost of necessity, occasion frequent intercourse between the common people and foreign sailors, a thing strictly prohibited by the Japanese laws.

Impending events seem, however, to indicate that important changes are about to take place in Japan. Heretofore the Japanese people have known no wants beyond those which their strict laws and customs have enabled them to gratify; but a freer intercourse with foreigners must necessarily have the effect of expanding their intelligence and improving their taste. The products of European ingenuity and industry will excite their interest, and to obtain the mere necessaries of life will no longer be the boundary of all earthly wishes among the mass of the people. These changes will open new and lucrative markets for mercantile transactions, in a part of the world heretofore closed against British commercial enterprise.

# NARRATIVE.

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## CHAPTER I.

Departure of the sloop 'Diana' on a surveying expedition—Island of Eetoorooop—A Japanese chief and his tent—A letter—Visit of a party of Kuriles to the 'Diana'—Dress of men and women described—Departure from Eetoorooop for the coast of Oorooop—Traffic between the Kuriles and the Japanese—Arrival at Kunashier—Hieroglyphical messages—A flag of truce—Conference with Japanese authorities—Invitation to land—Interview with the governor of the fortress—Treachery of the Japanese—Golownin and his companions attacked and made prisoners.

WHILST the imperial sloop of war, 'Diana,' lay at Kamtschatka, under my command, I received an order from the minister of the marine, directing me to make a minute survey of the Southern Kurile and Shantar Islands,\* and the coast of Tartary, from lat. 53° 38' north, to Okotzk.

All navigators who have sailed in the seas I had to traverse, complain of the cloudy weather and thick fogs which have prevented them from approaching the coasts, and consequently from making any observations upon them. In the year 1810, when I returned from America to Kamtschatka along the chain of the Kurile Islands, I was convinced by experience of the truth of this com-

\* The latter lie to the south of the main land of Siberia, opposite to the mouth of the river Ud.



plaint. Besides the continual mists which arise from the sea, and totally conceal the coasts and islands, navigators have to encounter other difficulties of a still greater and more dangerous description: the currents among the Aleute and Kurile Islands run with extraordinary violence, and the depth of water, even in the neighbourhood of those islands, is so great, that at a distance of only three miles from land no bottom can be found, after sounding with a line of one hundred and fifty or two hundred fathoms. In these seas, therefore, no reliance can be placed on the lead, which in general affords a certain indication of the proximity of land. I was perfectly aware of all these circumstances, and was consequently impressed with the necessity of choosing the most favourable time for the execution of my enterprise. For this purpose I perused the published accounts of the voyages of the most celebrated navigators, who have visited the quarter to which I was about to proceed, and from that perusal I collected the following information.

On the 9th of October, 1799 (N. S.), the English ships 'Resolution' and 'Discovery,' which, after the death of Captains Cook and Clerk, were commanded by Captain Gore, sailed from the Bay of Awatska, with the view, in addition to the discoveries which were the object of their voyage, to explore the chain of the Kurile Islands. They, however, succeeded in seeing only the first and second islands, namely, Shoomska and Paramousier; a violent westerly wind having prevented them from approaching the others, notwithstanding their most strenuous endeavours. The first land they had sight of, after these two islands, was the eastern coast of Japan, lat.  $40^{\circ} 05'$ , which they descried on the 26th of October.

Captain Gore did not, however, relinquish his plan

of visiting the southern Kurile Islands, but violent storms prevented him from putting his design into execution. He left the Bay of Awatska about the end of September (N. S.) Hence I inferred that the months of September and October are by no means favourable for nautical observations on the Kurile Islands.

In the middle of August, 1787, La Perouse sailed between the Peninsula of Sagaleen and the Island of Matsmai, through the strait which has since borne his name. Between Cape Aniwa and Cape Trou, on the Island of Staatenland,\* which he descried on the 19th of August, he saw no other islands except the Company's land† and Mareekan,‡ between which he sailed. This strait he named La Boussole, after his own frigate. But the continued thick fogs prevented him from making further observations on the Kurile Islands, and he was compelled to abandon his design, and to direct his course to Kamtschatka, which he did on the 1st of September (O. S.)

Captain Sarytscheff, in his account of his voyage to the north-eastern parts of Siberia, on the Frozen and the Eastern Oceans, says that he sailed from the Bay of Awatska on the 6th of August (O. S.), 1792, for the purpose of visiting the Corean Sea. He steered south-west along the Kurile Islands, but owing to thick fogs, he did not discover land until the 20th. In lat.  $47^{\circ} 28'$ , he perceived what he supposed to be the Island of Mareekan and some others, but thick mists prevented him from observing them closely, and he was ultimately obliged to give up his design and to return to Okotzk.

\* Eetoorooop or Eetoorpoo, the nineteenth Kurile Island.

† Oooroop, the eighteenth Kurile Island.

‡ Seemoossier, the sixteenth Kurile Island.

On his return he perceived the seventh island and the peak of the twelfth, and further on, the southern coast of the second island, and the summits of the three volcanoes on the fifth; but they were almost constantly enveloped in mist, and he was consequently unable to fix their geographical situations.

In the year 1796, the English Captain, Broughton, quitted Volcano Bay, on the southern side of Matsmai, and sailed along the eastern coast of the same island; he then passed between Kunashier and Eetooroop, the former of which he conceived to be a portion of Matsmai. He continued his course along the north-western coast of the Island Eetooroop (Staatenland), but of which he merely saw the first half, and the north-east extremity, without being aware that these were parts of one and the same island. He then sailed along the western coast of Ooroop (Company's-land) and Seemoossier (Mareekan), and reached the Island Ketoi. Thence he returned along the southern coasts of Ooroop, Eetooroop and Kunashier, without being able to make any observations, though he anxiously wished to ascertain correctly the situation of islands as yet so imperfectly known. Fogs, violent winds and weather, upon the whole very unfavourable, prevented him from carrying his design into execution. Captain Broughton's cruise, among the southern Kurile Islands, took place in the month of October.

Captain Krusenstern, who, in the year 1805, returned to Kamtschatka from Japan, was among the Kurile Islands during the latter end of May and beginning of June. On his passage to the Peninsula of Sagaleen, he also sailed through these islands in the early part of July, and again, on his return, at the end of August (N.S.)

In addition to the information thus obtained from the

above celebrated navigators, I endeavoured also to discover persons in Kamtschatka, who had made voyages to the islands I was directed to examine, and I questioned them closely on every point of importance. But what information could I derive from men so ignorant in navigation, and, above all, so limited in their excursions, as the popes and pelt-hunters of Khamtschatka, who merely go to the nearest inhabited Kurile island with the officers who collect the yassak (or tribute)? They only knew that there were some bright days in summer, but how often and how long those bright days continued, and in what places they experienced that favourable weather, were circumstances of which they could give no account. It was merely during the passage and in the straits that they paid any attention to the changes of the wind; when once on the Kurile Islands, they cared little for the state of the atmosphere or any meteorological phenomena. To make booty and collect the yassak were their sole objects. An under-pilot, named Andrejeu, a man whose knowledge in his profession was not altogether despicable, and who had been at the Kurile Islands with Lieutenant Chwostoff, on board one of the Russian American company's vessels, during the beginning of June, assured me that the weather was then favourable. In the preceding year, I had sailed from Kamtschatka to America in June, and returned in August and September. At both periods we had rough and hazy weather, and the horizon was constantly covered with heavy clouds. All, therefore, that has been stated respecting the weather in the Eastern Ocean, convinced me that fogs might be considered as proper to that sea,—that they prevail there in all months without exception, though in some more frequently than



others,—and that there was in no season good and clear weather for more than a week together. I perceived also that to survey so extensive a chain of islands and coast as was prescribed to me, would require an entire summer from the beginning of May until October. Besides it would be necessary to keep the land at all times as hard on board as possible, in order, as soon as the fog dispersed, to approach the coast more closely. It might, therefore happen, that a full investigation could not be completed in three years. On all these grounds and considerations, I felt convinced that it was necessary to proceed as speedily as possible to the execution of my mission.

I will now briefly state the plan I intended to follow. I resolved to sail direct from Kamtschatka to the Strait of Nadeschda between the Islands Matua and Rashaua, and to regulate my chronometer according to their situation\*, in case I should find no opportunity for lunar observations. I then proposed to steer along the southern coasts of the Kurile Islands, and to commence my observations with the Island of Ketoi, which had not been seen by the Nadeschda, and so on with every island in succession until I arrived at Matsmai; next to sail between the Islands Eetooroop and Matsmai, and to explore the whole northern coast of the latter until I should reach La Prouse's Straits; thence, keeping the Peninsula of

\* Captain Krusenstern had a close view of these islands, and gave the name of Sarytscheff's Peak to the volcano on the Island of Matua. I therefore concluded that he had fixed their geographical situation with the utmost accuracy. By calculating their longitude also, according to our chronometer, we could, on obtaining his work, in case we should have made no lunar observations, ascertain the difference of our reckoning.

Sagaleen in view, to steer to the point ( $53^{\circ} 38'$  lat.) whence my examination of the Tartar coast was to commence; with which, as well as my observations on the Shantar Islands, I hoped to be ready towards the latter end of the summer.

Having thus determined on my plan, I immediately set about preparing everything for my departure. I opened a passage through the ice, and on the 25th of April, 1811, I got the sloop out from Petropaulowskoi to Awatska Bay. On the 4th of May we weighed anchor and put to sea.

On the 14th of May I reached Nadeschda Strait; the place, whence, according to the plan I had laid down, I was to commence my observations. Previously to the 17th of June (the first day of our accidental communication with the Japanese), notwithstanding the impediments of thick fogs and violent irregular currents, we had succeeded in making observations on the following islands: the 13th, Rashaua,\* the 14th, Oosheessier, the 15th, Kotoi, the 16th, Seemoossier or Mareekan, the 17th the two Tschirpoi and Macantar, and the western coast of the 18th Ooroop.

Before I proceed to describe the treatment we received from the Japanese, and the occurrences which ensued, I may here state all I then knew respecting the political relations between Russia and Japan.

About thirty years ago, a Japanese merchant-man was wrecked on the Aleute Island Amtshitka. The crew of

\* On Captain Krusenstern's chart these islands are improperly named. On that chart the 13th is called Matua; the 14th, Raschaua; and the 15th, Oosheessier.

the vessel, and the commander, whose name was Rodai were saved and taken to Irkutsk, where they lived about ten years. At the end of that period the Empress Catharine gave orders that they should be conveyed back to their native country; and that advantage should be taken of that opportunity to ascertain whether some commercial relations, beneficial to both countries, might not be established between Russia and Japan. The orders received on this occasion by General Pihl, Governor in Chief of Siberia, are worthy of particular attention. He was expressly instructed to send as envoy to Japan, a person of rather inferior rank, bearing presents in his own (General Pihl's) name, as governor of a frontier province, but by no means in the name of the Empress; it was further ordered, that the commander of the vessel employed on this occasion should neither be a native of England nor Holland. In obedience to these instructions, Governor Pihl appointed as the envoy Lieutenant Laxman, who embarked on board the transport 'Catharina,' commanded by the pilot Lowzoff, and sailed, in the autumn of 1792, from Okotzk to Japan. Laxman landed on the northern coast of the island of Matsmai, and passed the winter in the little harbour of Nemuro. In the following summer, in conformity with the desire of the Japanese, he entered Chakodade harbour, which is situated on the southern coast of Matsmai, near the Straits of Sangar, from whence he travelled by land to Matsmai, which is three days' journey to the west of Chakodade. Here he entered into negotiations with official persons sent from the capital, in consequence of which the Japanese Government issued a declaration to the following effect:—

First. Although the Japanese laws ordain that all

foreigners who may land upon any part of the coasts of Japan, the harbour of Nangasaky excepted, shall be seized and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the penalties inflicted by the said laws shall not be enforced against the Russians in the present instance, as they were ignorant of the existence of such statutes, and have brought with them Japanese subjects whom they had saved on their own coasts; and they shall be permitted, without let or molestation, to return immediately to their native country, on this condition, however, that they never again approach any part of Japan, except Nangasaky, even though Japanese subjects should be driven on the coast of Russia, otherwise the law shall be executed in its fullest force.

Second. The Japanese Government returns thanks for the conveyance of its subjects to their native country; but at the same time informs the Russians that they may either leave them, or take them back again, as they shall think fit; for, according to the Japanese laws, it cannot be alleged that such persons are forcibly detained, since those laws declare that men belong to that country on which their destiny may cast them, and in which their lives have been protected.

Third. With regard to negotiations for commercial arrangements, the Japanese can admit of no relations of that sort any where except in the harbour of Nangasaky; for that reason they have given Laxman, for the present, merely a written certificate, on producing which a Russian vessel may enter that harbour, where there will be found Japanese officers furnished with full powers to treat further with the Russians on this matter.

Having received this declaration, Laxman returned to Okotzk in the autumn of 1793. From his account it



appears that the Japanese treated the Russians with the greatest civility and courtesy, showed them every mark of honour in a way conformable with the customs of their country, maintained at their own expense the officers and crew during the whole time they remained on the Japanese coasts, supplied them at their departure with provisions, for which they refused to accept of any payment, and made them various presents. He only regretted that, owing to the strict execution of the laws, the Japanese would never permit them to go freely about the town, but kept a constant watch upon them. It is difficult to guess why the Empress did not, immediately on Laxman's return, dispatch a vessel to Nangasaky: probably the commencement of the French Revolution, which, at that period, disturbed the peace of Europe, occasioned her to neglect this opportunity.

In the year 1803, the Chamberlain Resanoff was sent to Japan by the Emperor Alexander. The public have learned the details of that expedition from Captain Krusenstern's narrative; from which I also collected my information on the same subject. I therefore knew that, in the declaration which the Japanese Government communicated to Resanoff, it was notified that no Russian ship would be permitted to approach the coasts of Japan; and that in case the subjects of that country were driven by storms on the shores of Russia, they were to be conveyed home in Dutch and not in Russian vessels. On his return to Kamtschatka, Resanoff sailed to America in one of the American Company's ships, commanded by Lieutenant Chwostoff. He returned to Okotzk with the same officer, and was travelling through Siberia on his way to St. Petersburg, when he fell ill and died. Chwostoff

however, put to sea again, and attacked the Japanese villages on the Kurile Islands.

Having received orders to visit the Southern Kurile Islands, and being aware that some of them were in the possession of the Japanese, I endeavoured to collect all the information in my power respecting Chwostoff's proceedings in those seas. For this purpose I examined a pilot who had accompanied him on his cruise; and I was convinced, by that man's declaration, that the two attacks on the Japanese were unwarrantable, arbitrary acts; and that they themselves had not the slightest ground for supposing the hostilities to have been authorised by the sovereign of a country, the power and greatness of which must have been known to them from the descriptions of their countrymen, who had lived many years in Russia. The account given by this pilot fully corresponded with what I had heard when I first arrived at Kamtschatka, from an officer of the company, named Massnikoff, who had been attached to Chwostoff's expedition. But notwithstanding the opinion I had thus formed, I resolved, unless superior orders should otherwise direct, to hold no intercourse with the Japanese. My determination was to sail without any flag in the neighbourhood of the islands belonging to them, in order to avoid exciting either fear or doubt in the minds of that distrustful people.

Such, as far as I have above explained, was the state of the relations between Russia and Japan, at the time when the duty I had to perform required me to approach the coasts of those islands which are under the dominion of the Japanese. I now proceed to my narrative.

On the afternoon of the 17th of June we found our-

selves very near the western coast of the northern extremity of the Island of Eetooroop, though we were not immediately aware that the land we saw formed a part of that island. On the contrary, that extremity appeared to us like a separate island; for the Bay of Sana, which extends very far in land, resembles a channel; and on Captain Broughton's chart this part of the coast is not defined, he not having been certain whether the opening formed a strait or a bay. To remove all doubt, we approached within three Italian miles of the land. We soon descried several huts, and two large baidares, in which were several persons sailing to and from the shore. Under the supposition that the island was peopled by Kuriles, I dispatched Midshipman Moor, accompanied by the under-pilot Nawitsky, in an armed boat of four oars, to make observations on the island, and whatever they could discover. I soon observed a baidare sailing towards them from the shore; and not knowing what kind of reception they might meet with from the natives, I immediately ran the sloop close in the shore, and, along with a midshipman named Jakuschkin, got on board another armed boat, of four oars also, to hasten to their assistance. In the meanwhile the baidare had come up to our first boat, and having put about, they both rowed towards the shore, which I likewise reached in a short time after them.

On stepping ashore, I observed to my astonishment that Mr. Moor was engaged in conversation with some Japanese. He informed me that some of our Kuriles, belonging to the thirteenth island (Raschaua), who had been driven thither by storms in the preceding summer, were still on the island; and that the Japanese having



kept them prisoners for about a year, had at length resolved to liberate them, and send them home. These Kuriles had been sent out by the Japanese to meet the boat, to inquire what induced us to approach their coasts, and likewise to state that the Japanese were apprehensive of our designs, and desired that we would not set foot on shore. I was exceedingly astonished at hearing this; and asked Moor, with great dissatisfaction, how, after the Kuriles had stated this to him, he could presume of his own accord, and without any order from me, to go on shore with a handful of men among a people so hostile to us, and why he had not immediately turned back and communicated to me what the Kuriles had said to him. He justified himself by observing he was fearful I might have ascribed such conduct to cowardice, and have sent another officer to the island in his stead; adding, that such a disgrace would have been irretrievable, and would have rendered his life miserable.

Though this reason was far from being valid, yet I felt convinced that the rash conduct of this officer arose solely from want of reflection; and I did not say another word to him on the subject. Mr. Moor pointed out to me the Japanese commander, who was standing on the shore, at some distance from his tent. He was surrounded by about eighteen or twenty men, in full military dress, and armed with guns and sabres. Each of these men held the butt ends of their muskets with the left hand, but without any kind of regularity: in the right they held two small lighted matches. I saluted the commander, after the manner of my own country, with a bow, which he returned, by raising his right hand to his forehead, and bending his whole body towards me. We conversed by means of two interpreters, namely, one of his soldiers, who understood

the Kurile language, and one of our Kuriles, who could speak a little Russian. The Japanese chief began by asking—"For what reason we had come among them? If with a view to trade, and with no evil designs upon them, we might sail further along the coast, until we got behind the volcano, where Oorbeetsh, the most productive part of the island, was situated." I replied, "That we wished to find a safe harbour for our ship, where we might procure a supply of wood and water, of which we were greatly in want; that having obtained what we wanted we would immediately leave their coasts;\* that they had besides nothing to fear, as our sloop was an imperial ship, and not a merchantman; in short that we had not visited their islands with the intention of doing them any injury whatever."

Having listened attentively to my explanation, he said—"The Japanese cannot be entirely tranquil and free from apprehension on the appearance of a Russian ship, for some years ago Russian vessels twice attacked Japanese villages, and carried off or burnt everything they found, without sparing the houses, temples, or provisions. Rice, which is brought from Japan to these islands, forms the principal food of the inhabitants: but the first attack having taken place late in autumn, when no

\* I put this forward as the main reason of our coming there, in order that, under the pretence of seeking an anchoring place, we might sail round the whole island, and examine the coast with the greatest possible attention. The real motive of our visit could, however, on no account be disclosed. It would have been impossible to have made such a people as the Japanese comprehend how a state completely foreign to them could be induced, by mere curiosity, and without having some secret design in view, to fit out ships to explore distant countries; and the avowal of such an object would certainly have still further exposed us to their suspicion.

vessels could be sent to sea to bring back a fresh supply for winter, and the second having followed early in spring, before the usual rice ships could arrive, these circumstances, joined to the destruction of their houses, caused great distress to the Japanese, many of whom fell sacrifices to hunger and cold." With such awkward interpreters as our Kuriles, it was not an easy matter to vindicate ourselves against so serious a charge. I studied, however, to render my ideas quite intelligible to them, and begged that they would endeavour to re-state what I said with the greatest exactness. I then asked the Japanese commander, what number of ships and men his sovereign would send out against a people on whom he wished to make war. He answered that he did not know.—"Would he send five or ten?" said I.—"No, no," replied he, laughing, "he would fit out a great number, a very great number." Upon receiving this answer, I said, "How then can the Japanese believe that the Emperor of Russia, the sovereign of so great and powerful a nation, would send only two small vessels to carry on war against the Japanese? This consideration ought to be sufficient to convince them that the vessels which attacked them were mere merchantmen, the crews of which were not in the service of the Emperor of Russia, but of men whose only object was trade and pelt-hunting."

I added, that as soon as the offence became known, the affair was investigated, and the offenders punished conformably to our laws. As a proof that the Russian Government had entertained no hostile intention, it was sufficient to mention, that after two successful attacks had been made, no ship had, for the space of five years, returned to these islands. Had our monarch any reason or wish to make war on the Japanese, he would send every



year large squadrons against them, until the object he had in view should be accomplished.

The Japanese chief, whose countenance now brightened up, assured me that he was glad to hear this from me; that he believed all I had stated, and was satisfied. He asked, however, where the two men were whom Chwostoff had carried off with him. I told him they had fled from Okotzk in a boat, and had not since been heard of. Finally, he informed us that we could neither get wood nor good water at that part of the island, but that at Oorbeetsh, to the commander of which place he would give me a letter, we might be supplied not only with wood and water, but also procure rice and other provisions. Having returned thanks, I gave him and the other officers some presents, consisting of various European articles. He, in his turn, presented us with fresh fish, saranna,\* wild garlic, and a flask of sagi,† a Japanese beverage. He also treated us with this liquor, having first drank of it himself. Not to be behind-hand with him, I made him and his officers partake of some French brandy, after I had, according to the Japanese custom, first tasted it myself, to prove that I did not mean to give them anything injurious. They all smacked their lips, and appeared exceedingly well pleased with the brandy, of which, however, they drank but little. Each, on receiving from me the cup out of which they drank, made a slight motion with the head, and lifted the left hand to the forehead. I took a match from one of them, to examine it; in returning

\* The bread-fruit of the Kamtschatdales (*litium bulbiferum*).

† This liquor is prepared from rice. The colour is white, and the taste is not unpleasant. It is far from being strong; and yet, when a considerable quantity is drunk, it will intoxicate men who have been accustomed to very strong liquors.

it, I made it be understood by signs that I wished to cut off a piece, upon which they handed me a whole bundle.

I signified to the chief that I wished to see their tent, and he immediately conducted me to it. I found it very long, and covered with mats made of grass and straw. It was divided across into several apartments, each of which had a separate entrance on the south side. The light entered by the doors, for there were no windows. The apartment of the commander was at the eastern end. The floor was covered with very clean mats, on which we sat down, with our legs crossed under us. A large pan, with fire, was placed in the middle of the apartment; and a chest covered with a bear's-skin was brought in. The chief of the Japanese having now laid aside both his sabres, and unbound his girdle, I perceived that he was disposed to entertain us. It was, however, dark, and the sloop was too near the land. I thanked him for his friendly reception, informed him I could not stop then, but would visit him another time, and left the tent to go on board the sloop.

Whilst I was conversing with the chief on the shore, an old man advanced towards me with demonstrations of the greatest respect. He was a Toion, or chief of the hairy Kuriles of this part of the island, of whom there were here about fifty individuals of both sexes; and they seemed to be so oppressed by the Japanese, that they dared not move in their presence. They all sat crowded together, regarding their rulers with looks of terror; and whenever they had occasion to speak to them, they threw themselves upon their knees, with their open hands pressed closely upon their sides, their heads hanging downwards, and their whole bodies bowed to the ground. Our Kuriles observed the



same ceremony when they addressed us. In order to converse with them more fully, and without interruption, I invited them to come on board our vessel, if they could gain permission to do so. I at the same time desired them to assure the Japanese of our friendly disposition, and that we entertained no intention of doing them harm. The Kuriles repeated my words, though I cannot, of course, be responsible for the accuracy of their translation; but the answer received amounted to this, that the Japanese were afraid of us, and that, instead of believing that we had come to visit them with good intentions, they were convinced that we were disposed to do as much mischief as the Company's ships had formerly done. I was anxious to obtain further information on this subject, and I requested the Kuriles to endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the real sentiments which the Japanese entertained respecting us, and then to come on board our vessel.

At seven in the evening, we returned to our sloop; and the Kuriles arrived about an hour afterwards. Their party consisted of two men, two women, and a little girl, apparently about four years old. The men spoke the Russian language so well, that we could understand each other without much difficulty. They brought along with them the letter from the Japanese chief to the commander at Oorbeetsh, which they assured us would sufficiently inform him of our pacific intentions; they likewise told us, that as soon as they quitted the village, the Japanese dispatched a baidare with a similar intimation to Oorbeetsh: this we had ourselves observed. The letter was written on thick white paper, folded up in an envelope of about six inches and a half in length, and two and a quarter in breadth: this envelope was so formed, that

a piece of the paper, of a triangular shape, was left to fold down on one side, to which it closely adhered; the remaining part, or superior angle of this piece of paper, which was half an inch long, was folded down on the other side, to which it was also firmly attached, and was impressed with a stamp in black ink. The address was written on both sides.

The Kuriles now informed us that the Japanese persisted in believing that plunder was the only motive which had induced us to visit their shores; and that the conduct of the crews of the Company's ships had excited their suspicions. Whenever they spoke of the violent proceedings of Chwostoff, they usually said: "The Russians attacked us without cause, killed many of our countrymen, took several prisoners, plundered us, and burnt all we possessed; they not only carried off our goods, but likewise all our rice and sagi, and abandoned us to all the misery of hunger."

Influenced by these feelings, the Japanese were, as the Kuriles informed us, convinced that we intended to commit some outrage on them; and they had, some time before, removed all their property to the interior of the island. This vexed us exceedingly, though the people had ample cause to suspect our designs, as they did not know the difference between a man-of-war and a merchant vessel. The Kuriles, however, consoled us with the assurance, that ill-will towards the Russians was by no means general among the Japanese, and that the apprehensions of the chief and his companions, with whom we had discoursed, were to be attributed solely to their excessive cowardice.

These Kuriles also related to us their own adventures. They told us that in the preceding summer they had been driven by storms to that part of Japan. The Japanese

immediately seized them, and threw them into prison. They asked them various questions concerning the attack of the Russian ships, to which they replied: that the Kuriles had no participation in the proceedings of the Russians, and that they had besides heard at Kamtschatka that the commanders of those vessels were pelt-hunters, and not imperial officers. The outrage was, therefore, to be attributed solely to them; and that the Isprawnik (district commander) had deposited the Japanese goods in the imperial balagan (warehouse), and had placed the commanders of the ships in confinement. The Kuriles added, that on receiving this intimation, the Japanese were induced to think more favourably of them: they treated them with kindness, and at length gave orders for their liberation, having previously furnished them with rice, sagi, tobacco, clothes, and other articles. Finally, they expected to sail to their native country with the first favourable wind.

Two glasses of brandy, with which I regaled each of the Kuriles, seemed to inspire them with confidence, and they frequently mentioned, among other things, that they were in want of gunpowder to shoot with during the winter season; and that the Japanese had provided them with everything excepting powder. They mentioned this want of gunpowder so repeatedly, that I was convinced they were desirous of obtaining some from me, although they did not presume to ask it directly; and being confident that they wanted it only for hunting, I presented them with half-a-pound of fine English powder, some tobacco, glass beads and small earrings. It was now getting late, and I was compelled to break off my conversation with them; and after I had again requested that they would exert their endeavours



to convince the Japanese of our peaceable and friendly intentions, they took leave of us about ten o'clock.

Not the slightest breeze blew during the whole night of the 18th of June, and we were consequently unable to quit the coast. Early in the morning we observed a baidare, with a flag, sailing towards our sloop: we concluded that the Japanese were about to pay us a visit, and we proceeded to make preparations for their reception. To show that we expected them, I ordered the sails to be furled, though this was unnecessary, on account of the calm that prevailed. Towards eight o'clock the baidare had approached very near us; that which we supposed to be a flag, we now discovered was a white mat, and we recognized in the boat our friends the Kuriles who had visited us on the preceding evening. They were accompanied by a young man named Alexei Maximovitsch. The men wore long full Japanese gowns, with short wide sleeves, and made of thick cotton stuff of a blue colour, striped with green. The women wore parkis, made of the skins of birds with the feathers outward; and, by way of ornament, several rows of sea-parrots' beaks strung together were suspended from the back part of their shoulders. They had thick cotton handkerchiefs rolled round their heads, whilst the men on the contrary were bare-headed. They all wore torbasses or boots, such as are worn by the Russian peasantry, made of sea-lion skin. The Essaul came on board barefooted; but before he either bowed or offered to address us, he drew on his boots; he then advanced, observing towards us the same ceremonies with which he had been accustomed to salute the Japanese. He appeared to be about fifty years of age and extremely feeble. His little daughter was all the time on his back, wrapped in his

cloak, and secured therein by a rope, which came round in front of his breast. By way of relief, however, from the embarrassment which this fastening occasioned, or when he wished to move his arms with greater freedom, he raised the rope to his forehead, and a broad strap was sewed to that part of the rope which touched the forehead. The men had stiff jet-black hair and beards: their hair was cut in the same way as that of the Russian carters. They had no ornamental markings either on the face or on any other part of the body; the women, however, had a blue line drawn round their lips, from a fifth to a quarter of an inch in thickness, and their hands were painted with the same colour. They brought us presents, consisting of about eighty poods of salmon-trout and stock-fish, some saranna and wild garlic.

Our first question related to the Japanese soldiers. I was informed that the chief, in consequence of having partaken too freely of the bottle of brandy which I presented to him, had slept soundly the whole of the preceding evening and night; the others, on the contrary, had been under arms the whole time. Nothing could overcome the suspicions they entertained of us; and they threatened, in case we should attack them, to behead the Kuriles, whom they regarded as Russian subjects: for this reason they had watched them closely the whole of the night, and had detained some of their companions as hostages. The Japanese themselves had now sent them to inquire more particularly respecting our motives in visiting them. On this occasion the Kuriles contradicted what they had formerly told us; for, according to the account they now gave, instead of having been driven by storms to the coast of Japan, they had sailed thither for the purpose of trading, which they were permitted to do: the

Japanese, however, in consequence of the outrages committed by the Russians, had seized them, as they before informed us, and had thrown them into prison. Having at length determined on liberating them, they furnished them with twenty bags of rice, sagi and tobacco, for their voyage. Previously to our arrival they had been detained by adverse winds; and the Japanese now threatened to imprison them again, and to make them answer with their heads for our misconduct. Their party at first consisted of seven men, six women and two children; but of these, three men and three women had perished during their imprisonment in a small confined apartment. They did not know the Russian name of the disorder which had occasioned the death of their companions; but, from their description, it was probably scurvy, accompanied by great debility. They declared that the Japanese had constantly shown the utmost concern for their health, and had sent a physician to attend them. One of the Kuriles had been afflicted with a swelling in his hands and cramp in the feet, in consequence of which the calves of his legs were drawn upwards. Veins were immediately opened by the Japanese surgeons in both his feet, and some time after in both his hands. Owing to the want of suitable expressions, these men could neither describe how, nor with what kind of instruments, the operations had been performed. Their companion, however, recovered, and only regretted that, in consequence of his illness, his hands and feet had become considerably thinner than before. Our surgeon, M. Brandt, a man of very great experience in his profession, ascribed this last circumstance to some other cause.

Whilst relating what had occurred to them, the Kuriles frequently became confused, and contradicted each other;



at length they all entreated that I would keep them on board my vessel, and land them on their own island (the thirteenth or Raschana), whither they declared they had resolved on returning. I asked them what would become of their companions, the two women and the child, who would remain in the power of the Japanese; upon which they were all silent; but shortly afterwards they renewed their solicitations, protesting that they believed the Japanese would put them to death when they went on shore. On the preceding evening they had not mentioned a syllable about their determination of returning to their own island; they merely regretted not having sufficient gunpowder to enable them to shoot on Oorooop. To say that bad weather prevented their departure was a palpable falsehood: they were not aware that we had been cruising for some time in the neighbourhood of the island, and were consequently acquainted with the state of the weather. There had been no violent winds for a considerable time, and the fogs were by no means so thick as to render it impossible to proceed from one island to another, particularly from Eetooroop to Oorooop, which are scarcely twenty-five wersts distant from each other. They had, besides, no reason to fear the fogs, since, as we observed, they had with them a compass, which they valued so highly that they would scarcely trust it out of their hands; and when they came on board the ship, they carried it along with them, being fearful of leaving it in the baidare.\* It appeared from what they told us that

\* This compass, which was fixed in a round case, was three inches in diameter. The card was divided into rhumbs, but without any degrees, and coloured. Instead of glass it was covered with the kind of mica called Muscovy glass. The compass, with its case, was further secured

as soon as the Japanese suspected we entertained an intention of attacking their village, they threatened to punish the Kuriles for our acts, consequently these men had no less reason to fear us than the Japanese. For the sake of saving their heads they would willingly have remained with us, at the risk of sacrificing the two women and the child they had left on shore ; they accordingly entreated us to keep them on board. I endeavoured to convince them that they had nothing to fear from the Japanese, against whom we entertained no hostile designs, and advised them to return to the island. I gave them four bottles of French brandy, as a present to the Japanese commanding officer, who, as I had learned, was extremely fond of that liquor. When the Kuriles were about to take leave of us, I proposed that one of the party should remain on board our sloop, that he might assist us in coming to a safe anchoring place off Ooroop ; and likewise serve as our interpreter, in case we should land at Oorbeetsh. On hearing this, they all offered to continue with us ; this, however, could not be permitted ; and it was agreed that Alexei should remain on board, and that the rest should return to the island. They were, however, fully convinced that we intended to attack the Japanese ; and one of the party assured us cannon were planted at Oorbeetsh, which would be fired upon the first Russian vessel that came within sight of the island. A few minutes after this, another of the Kuriles observed that there was only one piece of cannon on the island.

Towards noon the weather began to clear up, and a brisk south wind arose. I wished to take advantage of

by being placed within a box with a sliding lid. The Kuriles pretended that they had got it in Kamtschatka.



this gale for sailing towards the eastern coast of Oorooop; we therefore took leave of our guests, and steered under full sail in an easterly direction. We had not proceeded more than half a mile, or a werst, from the baidare, when we observed the Kuriles raising their hands, beckoning us to return, and heard them calling loudly after us. Can the baidare be sinking! thought I, and immediately gave orders for the sloop to lie to. The Kuriles then rowed up to us, and merely repeated their dread of being massacred by the Japanese in the event of our committing any outrage upon them. We again found it necessary to summon all our powers of persuasion for the purpose of convincing and consoling them; and they, at length, agreed to return to the island, though not without some degree of apprehension, for they could not entirely divest themselves of the notions they had formed. I was much moved, on thus parting, for a second time, with these poor creatures. They repeatedly bade us farewell from the baidare, and promised, if the Japanese did not kill them, to catch fish, and gather wild garlic and saranna for us against our return.

From Eetooroop we sailed towards the eastern coast of Oorooop, in inspecting which we spent three days. We then wished to sail back to Oorbeetsh, but contrary winds prevented us from passing through the Straits of De Fries; we therefore steered in a southerly direction, along the eastern coast of Eetooroop, for the purpose of making observations on that island likewise. Meanwhile certain circumstances tended to confirm our Kurile shipmate in the belief that we really entertained the design of attacking the Japanese. When the wind was calm, and the weather clear and dry, I ordered the crew to perform their exercise on deck, and to practise firing with ball. Our Kurile was unable to conceal

his astonishment when he beheld the men all under arms; some furnished with blunderbusses, some with muskets, and others with pistols and pikes. We sought to persuade him that we ourselves had reason to apprehend an attack from the Japanese, and that we wished to hold ourselves in readiness for self-defence; but that if, on the contrary, they received us kindly, they need entertain no fear. He nodded his head as if he wished us to suppose he credited what we told him; but it was plain that, in his heart, he was far from being convinced of the truth of our statement. In the course of conversation, he would frequently disclose circumstances which he showed a disposition to conceal when questioned directly concerning them. For instance, he at first declared his ignorance of the way in which the Kuriles trade with the Japanese; but some time after, whilst we were drinking tea, and discoursing on some other matters, he mentioned what the Japanese had given them in exchange for certain articles, without seeming to be aware that he was betraying what he before wished to keep secret. I was well pleased to find that we could thus obtain from our guest all the information we desired, without either perplexing him or putting him in fear. The facts thus communicated, as it were, accidentally, and of his own free will, without any questions being directly addressed to him, were doubtless more to be relied on than any which we might have wrung from him by inquisitorial interrogatories; that, under such circumstances, a wild ignorant Kurile should have stated many untruths would not have been surprising. Accordingly, whenever I entered into conversation with him, I usually began by talking about common affairs, with the view of

bringing him by degrees to other subjects of discourse. In this way I learned from him that previous to the attack made by the Company's ships, the Kuriles had carried on a trade with the Japanese, as uninterrupted and regular as if it had been sanctioned by a duly ratified treaty. The Kuriles brought to Japan bears' and seals' skins, eagles' wings and tails, and fox skins; the latter, however, the Japanese seldom purchased, and never gave a high price for them: these articles they exchanged for rice, cotton manufactures, clothes, tobacco-pipes, domestic utensils of varnished wood, and other things. The Japanese sell their rice in large and small bags. The large bag is equal to three small ones, and, according to our Kurile's account, it is so heavy, that a man can scarcely lift it: it may, perhaps, contain about four poods. The barter was conducted according to a convention made by both parties, and without the least attempt at undue advantage on either side. The value of the merchandize scarcely ever varied; the Kuriles usually received from the Japanese:

For the skin of a beaver which had attained its full growth, ten large bags of rice.\*

For a seal's-skin, seven small bags.

For ten eagles' tails, twenty small bags, or a silk dress.

For three eagles' tails, a cotton dress, lined with the same material, and wadded.

\* Allowing that each bag contained only three poods, they received thirty poods of rice for one beaver-skin. At Kamtschatka the American Company purchased in our presence, the rice which had been brought from Japan, paying for it at the rate of sixteen roubles the pood: they did not, however, consider the beaver-skin to be worth more than fifty roubles. The Company would not have given the Kuriles more than three poods of rice for a beaver-skin.

For ten eagles' wings, a bundle of leaf-tobacco, which the Kuriles are extremely fond of. They usually chew it. But some take it like snuff, and others have learned from the Japanese the custom of smoking with pipes, such as they use.

The Japanese gave a high price for eagles' wings and tails, as they use the feathers for their arrows; they likewise set a high value on various European articles, which they purchase from the Kuriles at a very dear rate; such as yellow and red cloth, and cloth of other colours, glass wares, strings of amber and glass beads, boots, hardware, &c.

The yellow cloth is reserved for distinguished visitors; a piece of a suitable size is usually spread out where it is intended the guest shall seat himself. Cloths of other colours are made into wearing apparel. They ornament the seams of their boots with glass beads or pearls; but in other respects they wear them in the same way as we do.

Our guest, Alexei Maximovitsch, was no less communicative when our conversation happened to turn on the hunting trade, and how it enabled the Kuriles to gain a livelihood. He complained that the number of beavers was constantly diminishing; a circumstance which appeared extremely probable. These animals have indeed become exceedingly scarce, both on the Aleute Islands, and on those parts of the American coast which are visited by the Company's pelt-hunters. The indefatigable perseverance of their pursuers has made them shun the human race, and they have retired towards the south, into the channels between the numerous islands on the north-west coast of America. In the summer season, when the sea is calm, and the Kuriles can, without danger, sail from



the coasts in their baidares, they shoot the beavers with arrows; but in the winter they either shoot them from the shore or catch them in nets, which they spread between the stones on which these animals sometimes station themselves. They have three different methods of killing the dark brown, grey, and red foxes. If they fall in with them accidentally, or in hunting, they shoot them in the usual way; but they also take them in the Kamtschatka manner, by traps,\* or ensnare them with sea-gulls. They fasten a sea-gull in a place where they observe traces of the fox, and lay down around the gull snares formed of running loops; the hunter, in the meanwhile, remains on the watch to prevent the fox from gnawing the snare asunder. Whenever the sea-gull begins to flap its wings, the fox darts upon his prey, and is caught in a noose.

The ice-fox is never seen on the Kurile Islands, and the inhabitants do not even know such an animal by name. When shown their skins at Kamtschatka they called them white foxes. They shoot sea-lions and seals; and catch eagles with sea-gulls, though not in the same way as they ensnare the foxes. They build a little shed, with an aperture at the top, and in the interior fasten a sea-gull; in a short time the eagle darts upon his prey, seizes it with his claws, and whilst he is endeavouring to carry it off or devour it, he is killed by the Kuriles. It is only during the winter that the eagle inhabits the Kurile Islands: on the approach of summer these birds of prey take flight to Kamtschatka, where they are then found in great numbers, because the streams which flow

\* Some bait is placed in a trap, which is no sooner touched by the fox, than a sharp iron weapon descends and kills him.

through that peninsula supply them with abundance of food. The Kuriles hunt sea-otters, sea-lions, seals, and foxes, only for purposes of trade: to supply their domestic wants they catch different sorts of sea-fowl, such as geese, various kinds of ducks, &c., and likewise fish, which are, however, by no means very plentiful in the Kurile Islands belonging to the Russians. On the coasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth islands (Raschawa and Oosheessier) a fish is found which the inhabitants call seer-bok: in size it resembles the gorbusha (a kind of salmon), and is of a red colour. They are caught between the stones with hooks. The Kuriles seldom go out to kill ducks and geese, as too great a quantity of powder and shot is expended on these birds.\* They catch in the nest, and with their hands, sea-parrots, storm-finches, and another kind of bird, which in their language is called the mauridor;† and a man may

\* Neither the Kamtschatdales nor the Kuriles use either fowling-pieces or slugs. When they wish to shoot even the smallest bird, they employ a rifle with ball: they, therefore, but seldom kill birds in this manner, though they use little powder, and their balls are not large. A pound of powder and two pounds of lead serve to load a piece more than one hundred times.

† In Buffon's Natural History, I find no mention made of any bird which corresponds with the mauridor; I will, therefore, endeavour to give some description of it. In size the mauridor resembles a pigeon: the feathers on the back and upper part of the wings are blackish and dark grey; sometimes both these colours are mixed; on the breast and under the wings they are light grey. The wings are long, and consist of two parts, connected together by joints. When the wings are spread out, the bird measures from one side to the other about two feet eight inches, and thirteen inches from the extremity of the beak to the end of the tail. The feet are trifid; the claws scarcely perceptible, and connected together by a thin web: at the back part of the foot there is a small toe, which resembles a nail. The feet and skin are of a blue colour; the beak, which is pointed and black, is turned downwards at the end, and on the upper part furnished with two holes.

catch thirty, forty, or even fifty of these birds in one day. The feathers are taken off with the skins, which are sewed together and made into parkis, both for men and women. The fat is made into oil, and the Kuriles smoke the flesh, and lay it by for provisions during the winter. Indeed, their chief sustenance consists of the flesh of these birds, together with wild garlic, saranna, and various kinds of sea-plants; in addition to which, however, they frequently procure rice from the Japanese.

The Kuriles who are under the dominion of the Russians have in general no beard. Those, however, whom we found in Eetooroop had beards, but they had allowed them to grow in imitation of the hairy Kuriles, who preserve their beards. Alexei, therefore, in consequence of continuing on board with us, expressed a wish to have his beard removed, and was accordingly shaved. I besides gave him several articles of naval clothing which had belonged to deceased seamen.

The inhabitants of Shoomska and Paramooshier travel with dogs like the Kamtschatdales. On Raschaua and Oosheessier, however, they do not understand this art, but keep a number of dogs for hunting foxes. I did not before mention this sort of fox-hunting, because it is not general, and is only practised by some of the Kuriles on the Island of Raschaua. The inhabitants of Oosheessier, on which there are no foxes, go in quest of these animals to other islands, whither they cannot carry their dogs with them. In both islands they use dog-skin for winter dress.

Alexei informed us that we might find a safe anchoring place near the Island of Kunaschier (the twentieth on the chain of the Kurile Islands), and that it contained a fortified village, where we might be supplied with wood,

water, rice, and fresh roots. Instead, therefore, of proceeding to Oorbeetsh, I resolved to sail straight to Kunashier. To this determination I was chiefly induced by the wish of closely examining the harbour of Kunashier, and the channel which separates that island from Matsmai; this channel being as yet unknown to European navigators, and on many charts both islands being described as one connected piece of land. Even on Broughton's chart this uncertainty is not removed.

Owing to adverse winds, fogs and thick weather, we did not reach the straits between Matsmai and Kunashier until the 4th of July. In the interim we cruized in the neighbourhood of the islands Eetooroop, Kunashier, and Tschikztan, which we occasionally saw, though they were almost always veiled by mists. Towards evening we approached a long flat piece of land, forming the eastern side of the harbour of Kunashier. Our entering the harbour at so late an hour might probably have excited alarm among the Japanese, I therefore thought it advisable to cast anchor in the channel. During the whole of the night, we observed large fires burning on both the promontories of the bay, which were probably intended for signals. On the following morning, the 5th of July, we sailed into the harbour. As we advanced, guns were twice fired at us from the castle; the shot, however, fell into the water without reaching our vessel. From this circumstance, we concluded that the Japanese on the island of Eetooroop had not yet made known to those at Kunashier our favourable intentions; and as the fortress and the bay were still enveloped in darkness, we again cast anchor. When the weather cleared up, we stood in towards the fortress, from which there was now no more firing; though the boat, which was a-head of us, and in which some of our crew were taking soundings, was within



range of the guns. The works were hung round with white and black, or dark blue striped cloth, so that we could perceive neither walls nor palisadoes. Sentinels were posted in various places, and above them embrasures were painted, but in so rough a style, that even at a considerable distance we could perceive the deception. Within the fortress we could only descry a few buildings, which stood upon an acclivity, and overtopped the wall. Among these buildings the governor's house was distinguished by numerous flags and weather-cocks fixed upon the roof; we likewise saw flags waving on other houses in the town, but not in such numbers. For this circumstance Alexei could not account, though he told us that the town was always so ornamented whenever a foreign vessel or any personage of distinction entered the harbour. We cast anchor at the distance of about two wersts from the garrison; and the pilot's assistant, named Srednoy, four sailors, the Kurile, and myself, got into a boat and rowed towards the shore. We had already come within fifty fathoms of the shore, when the Japanese unexpectedly began to fire upon us from different points. We immediately put about, and began to row off as quickly as possible. The first guns which were fired had nearly proved fatal to us, for the shot passed close to the boat; but afterwards they fired less frequently, and appeared to point their guns very badly.\*

On hearing the report of the first firing, Captain-Lieutenant Rikord, the senior commanding-officer under me, immediately dispatched all the armed boats to our assistance; fortunately, however, we had no occasion for them, as not a single ball touched us. Even when we were out of the reach of their shot, the Japanese did not

\* The Japanese powder appears to be extremely bad: on being fired it creates an uncommonly thick and black smoke.

cease firing, and we still heard the reports of their cannon after we had got on board the sloop. I was not a little indignant at this aggression, and I at first thought I should be justified in taking reprisals. I had already ordered a cannon to be pointed at the castle, to convince the Japanese how well our sloop was armed ; but I soon reflected that the moment for vengeance would not be lost, and that without the consent of my government I should not be justified in resorting to hostile proceedings. I therefore altered my intention, and stood off from the garrison.

A thought now suddenly came across my mind. I imagined that by means of signs I might make myself understood by the Japanese. For this purpose, on the 6th of July, I caused a cask to be sawed in two, and set both parts afloat in the water in front of the town. In the inside of one half of the cask were placed a glass containing fresh water, a piece of wood, and a handful of rice, to denote that we were in want of these articles ; the other half contained a few piastres, a piece of yellow cloth, and some crystal beads and pearls, meaning thereby to intimate that we would give them either money or other articles in exchange for provisions. Upon this half of the cask we fixed a drawing of the harbour, the fortress, and the sloop, which was very skilfully executed by the Midshipman Moor. In this drawing, the sloop's guns were very distinctly marked, but fixed in the ports with their tompions in ; but the guns in the garrison were represented as firing, and the balls flying over the sloop. By this means I wished, if possible, to make the Japanese sensible of their perfidy. No sooner had we set the cask afloat and rowed away, than the Japanese immediately seized it, and carried it into their fortress. On the following day we approached within gun-shot of

the castle, for the purpose of receiving an answer ; having however, previously made every preparation for an engagement ; but the Japanese did not seem to notice us. No one appeared near the works, which were still hung round with cloth.

I reflected seriously on all that had occurred, and was convinced that I had a right to demand an answer of some sort or other from the Japanese. Our first intercourse with them had been purely accidental : the chief with whom we had communicated had voluntarily given us a letter to the governor of a town, in order that we might be supplied not only with wood and water, but likewise with provisions. Relying on this assurance, we had sailed to Kunashier, and lost a fortnight, during which time we might have returned to Okotzk. Our provisions having in the meanwhile greatly diminished, we hoped to obtain a fresh stock from the Japanese, who, however, did not regard our proposal as worthy of an answer. In this critical situation, I requested that each officer should draw up a written declaration of his opinion respecting the course which ought to be adopted. They all agreed that nothing but the utmost provocation could justify us in proceeding to hostilities, until the command of the Emperor authorised us so to do. In this particular, the opinions of the officers coincided with my own, and we moved farther from the castle.

I now dispatched a well-armed boat, under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Rikord, to a fishing-village on one side of the harbour, directing him to take the necessary quantity of wood, water, and rice, and to leave payment either in Spanish piastres or merchandize. I remained on board the sloop, which I kept under sail at a short distance from the shore, being fully resolved to obtain these articles by force, in case the Japanese should oppose the

landing of Lieutenant Rikord. But neither soldiers nor any inhabitants were to be seen in the village. Here Lieutenant Rikord found only muddy rain-water ; he, however, carried off some wood, rice, and dried fish, and left behind him various European articles, which Alexei declared to be far more valuable than what he carried away. In the afternoon curiosity induced me to go ashore to try to discover the plans of the Japanese, and I was highly pleased to observe that all the articles which Lieutenant Rikord had left were removed. The Japanese must, therefore, have visited the shore after his departure ; and those who occupied the fortress would thus be convinced that plunder was not our object. There were two fishing-villages on this side of the harbour, and we observed every necessary apparatus for fishing, salting, drying, and extracting oil. The Japanese nets are excessively large, and every article used by fishermen, such as boats, buckets, vats for the oil, &c. were all in exceedingly good order.

On the 8th of July we observed a cask floating before the town : I immediately weighed anchor in order to take it up. We found that it contained a little box wrapped up in several pieces of oil-cloth. The box contained three papers ; one of which was a Japanese letter, which we could not read, and the other two were drawings. Both these sketches represented the harbour, the castle, our sloop, the cask with a boat rowing towards it, and the rising sun, but with this difference, that in one the guns of the castle were firing, whilst in the other the muzzles of the cannon were turned backwards. We were a long time occupied in considering these hieroglyphics, and each explained them after his own way ; but this will not be thought wonderful, as the same thing frequently happens among better scholars. We all, however, a

in one thing, namely, that the Japanese declined holding intercourse with us.

For my own part, I interpreted these drawings in the following manner: I supposed the Japanese to mean that, though they had not fired upon us when they observed us sending off the cask, yet if we attempted to send out another, they would immediately fire upon it. We then got under weigh, and stood over to the mouth of a little river on the western side of the harbour where we cast anchor. I now sent out some armed boats in quest of fresh water. The seamen continued at work all day on the shore without experiencing any opposition from the Japanese; they merely sent out some Kuriles from the castle, who, at the distance of about half a verst, observed the motions of our crew. On the following morning, the 9th of July, our boats again went ashore: a Kurile immediately came out of the castle, and approached them with a very slow pace, and an air of extreme apprehension. In one hand, he held a wooden crucifix, and with the other continually crossed himself as he advanced towards the shore. He had lived for several years among our Kuriles on the Island of Raschawa, where he was known by the name of Koosma: there he had probably learned to cross himself; and having observed that the Russians venerate the cross, he now ventured forth under its protection to meet us in the character of a flag of truce. Lieutenant Rudakoff was the first who accosted him: he approached him in a soothing manner, and gave him various presents; but nothing could subdue the terror of the Kurile, who continued to tremble as if he had been seized with a fit of ague. I next approached him, but was unable to make myself understood, as Alexei was not along with us. The Kurile was so terrified that he would neither wait for him

nor accompany us on board, and we did not think it prudent to detain him by force. He could scarcely speak ten words of Russian, yet I understood from his gesticulation, that the governor of the city expressed a wish that he and I should meet in boats, accompanied by an equal number of people on both sides, in order to hold a conference. I joyfully testified my willingness to accede to this proposal, and I gave the Kurile a string of beads. This present seemed to inspire him with so much boldness, that he ventured to ask me for a little tobacco; I, however, happened to have none with me, but promised to bring him some the next time I came on shore. I then took leave of him, and put off with the boat.

Meanwhile, the Japanese had placed another cask in front of the castle, but so close to the batteries that I deemed it imprudent to venture to take it away; still nobody came out of the castle, though they beckoned to us with white fans to come on shore. I now began to suspect that I had misunderstood the Kurile: as we were preparing, however, to row back again, we observed a boat put off from the shore. In this boat there were several official dignitaries and a Kurile interpreter, and they immediately rowed towards us. They had many more men on board than we; but as we were well armed, I felt no reason to be afraid of them. The conference began on their side, with an apology for having fired upon us when we first attempted to land. To justify this proceeding, they declared that their distrust had been excited in consequence of an outrage committed upon them some years before, by the crews of two Russian vessels, who had at first landed under pretence of the same motives which we professed. They, however, perceived the difference between our conduct and that of their former visitors; every suspicion had now vanished, and they declared their readiness to do all they could to

serve us. I desired our interpreter, Alexei, to explain to them, that those ships were merchantmen ; that the aggression had been made without the consent of our government, and that the owners of the vessels, both of whom were now no more, had suffered due punishment for their reprehensible proceedings. I sought to convince them of the truth of this assurance by the same method which we had adopted with respect to the Japanese on the Island of Eetooroop. They replied that they believed all we had said, and rejoiced to hear that the Russians were animated by such friendly feelings towards them.

When I inquired whether they were satisfied with the payment they had received for the articles taken from the fishing-village, they answered that what we had taken were mere trifles, and that we had paid infinitely beyond their value. They, moreover, assured me that the governor was ready to furnish us with anything their island afforded, and inquired what other articles we stood in need of. I requested to have ten bags of rice, some fresh fish and vegetables, for which I offered to give as many piastres as might be required. They invited me to land, to have an interview with the governor ; this, however, I declined doing, and promised to go on the following day, when the sloop would be nearer the shore. According to my promise, I had brought some tobacco for Koosma ; but the Japanese officials did not think fit to allow the Kurile to receive my present. I wished to have had some further conversation on various subjects with the Japanese ; but Alexei, who had recognized some of his old friends in the boat, was so engaged in gossiping with his countrymen, that he neglected to interpret my questions.

When we had parted from the Japanese, Alexei explained to us what his countrymen had communicated to him.

They declared that the approach of our sloop had filled the Japanese with the utmost terror and consternation : they were convinced that we intended to attack them, and had accordingly removed all their property, with the greatest haste, to the forests. We had ourselves observed them driving loaded horses along the hills. The Kuriles added that they fired on our sloop merely through fear, and when they observed our boat approaching the fishing-village, they felt assured that we intended immediately to plunder and set fire to their habitations. When, however, we quitted the shore, they returned to inspect their houses, and finding everything in the same order as when they fled, and seeing that we had left many valuable European articles behind in exchange for the rice, fish and wood we had carried away, the joy of the Japanese knew no bounds, and all their apprehension ceased. I was the more ready to believe that they had fired upon us merely through terror, since they probably suspected that we had a strong party concealed in the bottom of the boat. The boat was indeed infinitely too small for any such purpose, but then they might have been blinded by fear ; they would not else have attacked a handful of men, who, as it were, threw themselves into their power. They might have waited on the shore, and have made us their prisoners whenever we landed. But Alexei had previously informed me that the very sight of a Russian inspired the Japanese with an indescribable terror. They expressed great astonishment at the rapidity with which the Russians fired their guns, and the excellent order in which they fought, which they had witnessed during the attack made upon them by the Company's vessels.

On the morning of the 10th of July we filled our last cask with water ; which business, and the state of



the wind, did not permit us to approach the castle. In the meanwhile the Japanese sent out a boat, and made signs that they wished to speak with us. We immediately rowed towards them, and, as we approached, I observed that the persons in the boat threw a cask into the water, and immediately put ashore. We found that this cask contained all the articles which we had left in the village as payment for what we had taken, and likewise all that we had placed in the cask which we had first sent off. I now put into it eighteen piastres and some East India silks, and was preparing to row on board, when the Japanese began to beckon us with white fans, and to make signs, indicating that they wished us to land. This invitation was given when we had no longer need of anything from them, and when we had obtained so abundant a supply of wood, water, and provisions, that we might have continued two months longer at sea, prosecuting our observations, and then have sailed back to Okotzk.

I wished, however, to communicate with the Japanese for other reasons. I considered it my duty as an officer in the service of the Emperor of Russia, to assure them, if possible, that our government had taken no part in the outrages committed on their coasts by the Company's vessels; and that my duty to my country required that I should, in such a case, lay aside all consideration of personal danger. I therefore ordered the sailors, of whom I took four with me, to conceal their arms, by wrapping sail-cloth about them, but to be careful to have them in readiness in case of an attack; and we landed at a distance of from sixty to eighty fathoms from the gates of the castle. The Kurile Alexei, one of the sailors, and myself, stepped ashore: I ordered the rest to keep the boat afloat, not to per-  
panese to get on

board of it, and to keep their eyes constantly fixed upon me, in order to watch any signal I might make to them. We were met on the shore by an officer, called an Oyagoda (a term nearly equivalent to our commander of a district), two inferior officers, two privates, and upwards of ten Kuriles. All the Japanese, though of different ranks, were dressed in costly silk garments, and were completely armed : each had a sabre and a poniard fastened in his girdle, but the Kuriles, on the contrary, were without any arms. I had only a sabre by my side, but I had taken the precaution of concealing three brace of pistols in my pockets and my bosom. The Oyagoda received me with the utmost politeness, and requested that I would wait on the shore for the governor of the fortress, who, he assured me, would soon come out to meet me. I asked him what we were to understand by their having sent back in the cask all the articles we had left in the fishing-village. He replied, that they wished to return them, because they supposed we did not intend to have any further intercourse with them, and that in that case they durst take nothing. I immediately recollected that Laxman, in his Narrative, mentioned that the Japanese would accept of no presents until the conclusion of the negociation, though it did not appear that they afterwards declined anything which he offered them. I therefore felt myself perfectly satisfied on this head.

I had not long to wait for the governor ; he soon appeared, completely armed, and accompanied by two soldiers, one of whom carried his long spear, and the other his cap or helmet, which was adorned with a figure of the moon. In other respects it somewhat resembled the crowns which are occasionally worn at nuptial ceremonies in Russia. It is scarcely possible to conceive anything more ludicrous than the manner in which the governor

walked. His eyes were cast down and fixed upon the earth, and his hands pressed closely against his sides, whilst he proceeded at so slow a pace that he scarcely extended one foot beyond the other, and kept his feet wide apart. I saluted him after the European fashion, upon which he raised his left hand to his forehead, and bowed his head and his whole body towards the ground. Our conversation then commenced. I apologized for having been compelled, by urgent necessity, to occasion them so much inconvenience. He expressed his regret that the ignorance of the Japanese respecting the object of our visit should have caused them to fire upon us, and inquired why, on first entering the harbour, we did not send out a boat to meet that which had been dispatched from the garrison, as we might thereby have prevented the occurrence of such disagreeable hostilities. I assured him that no boat had been seen by any of the crew on board our sloop, and imputed our not having perceived it to the darkness of the evening. I plainly saw, however, that he was seeking to excuse his own conduct, and was at the same time asserting a direct falsehood; for when we entered the harbour, we could perceive every object around us with the utmost distinctness: not even the flight of a bird, and much less a boat proceeding from the shore, could have escaped our observation. He then asked whether I was the captain of the vessel, or whether it was commanded by some individual older than myself; which question he repeated several times. He likewise asked where we were sailing to; why we had landed on their coasts; and whither we next intended to proceed? Lest an explanation of the real object of our visit to their islands might create fear and suspicion, I informed him that we were sailing from the eastern extremity of our empire to St. Petersburg: that very winds had con-

siderably lengthened our voyage ; and that, being greatly in want of fresh water and wood, we wished to enter some safe harbour to procure a supply of those articles. I added, that we had accidentally touched at the Island of Eetoorooop, where we found a Japanese garrison, the commander of which had furnished us with a letter to Oorbeetsh, which I wished to have sent ashore: these were the reasons which had induced us to enter their harbour, and that we now wished to take the nearest course to Canton, for the purpose of procuring some articles from that place. Here he observed, that on landing at Eetoorooop we had declared trade to be our object, but that we now told a very different story. I replied, that if he had been so informed, the mistake was to be ascribed to the Kuriles, who spoke but little Russian ; and, as in the Kurile language there were no words signifying money or purchase, they had been obliged to translate these terms by the words exchange or trade. He then asked what was our Emperor's name, what was my name, whether I knew Resanoff, who had been sent as ambassador to their islands, and whether there were any persons in St. Petersburg who could speak the Japanese language ? To all these questions I returned suitable answers : I informed him of Resanoff's death, and told him that there were several persons in Russia who could translate the Japanese language. He carefully noted down everything I said. He then invited me to partake of some tea, sagi and caviar, and to smoke tobacco. Everything was served upon separate dishes, and presented by different individuals, who were all armed with poniards and sabres ; but instead of going away after having handed us anything we wished for, they remained standing near, till at length we were surrounded by a formidable circle of armed men. Among the various articles which I had brought ashore as presents to the governor, were several

bottles of French brandy : I asked him whether he would choose to taste this liquor, and ordered my sailors to draw a bottle ; at the same time taking an opportunity of repeating the order I had previously given them, namely, to hold themselves in readiness.

To desire that any of the numerous body of armed attendants should withdraw, or to show that I was in any way alarmed by their presence, was what I could not stoop to do ; besides, I thought it prudent not to let them suppose that I distrusted them. There was also no appearance of any intention to resort to violence on their part, notwithstanding that they might have done what they pleased, though certainly not without suffering some loss. We smoked, drank tea, and joked together. They were curious to know the Russian names of several things, and I in return asked the Japanese names. At last I stood up, and inquired when I should receive the promised provisions, what I should have to pay for the same, and held up a piastre to signify my wish that the number of that coin which they required might be mentioned. To my great astonishment, I was then informed, that the officer with whom I had been conversing was not the commander-in-chief of the fortress, and therefore could decide nothing on this point. He, however, invited me to go into the castle with him, to make the necessary arrangements with the governor myself. This I declined, on the pretence that I had already staid too long, and that were I to comply with his desire, a suspicion would probably be excited on board the sloop, which might give rise to hostilities. I offered at the same time to follow him into the fortress, provided that some persons of distinction among them went on board the sloop in my boat, as that would satisfy the officers with respect to my safety.

The proposal was no sooner made, than one of the

Japanese left us, as if for the purpose of obtaining the governor's consent. The answer was a refusal, accompanied with an assurance that the governor would immediately come out to us; but soon after a messenger announced that he had gone to dinner, and could not yet come. I declined to wait any longer, but promised to bring the ship nearer the shore, and to visit the castle. The lieutenant-governor made no objection to my going; but on parting presented me with a flask of *sagi* and some fresh fish, expressing regret that he had not more of the latter to give. He, however, pointed to a large net which had been cast, and requested that a boat might be sent on shore before the evening set in, as the whole draught should be given to us. He accepted from me a burning-glass and a bottle of brandy, but would not permit the Kuriles to take any tobacco from us. As a mark of friendship, he gave me a white fan, with which he said we were to beckon when we came on shore, as a signal of our being peaceably disposed. During the interpretation of the Japanese officer's speech, Alexei talked frequently to me of the cross, but in so obscure and unintelligible a manner, that I could not comprehend him. It was not until we were again in the boat, and felt ourselves quite free, that he sufficiently collected himself to explain what he really meant. It was well known to the Japanese, he observed, that the Russians entertain the greatest veneration for the cross, and on that account he had wished me to cross myself, and to signify that I made that sign in confirmation of our friendly disposition towards them. On hearing this I was exceedingly vexed that I had not been able to understand him before we left the shore.

Towards evening we stood in within gun-shot of the castle, and brought the sloop to anchor. It was now too late for me to think of entering on any conference; but I



ordered Midshipman Jakuschkin to go ashore with an armed boat, to deliver the letter we had brought from the Island of Eetooroop, and to bring on board the fish which had been promised us. I further directed him to row to the place I had landed at, and not to leave the boat a single moment. He executed my orders with the utmost punctuality, and returned at twilight. The Japanese received him with much kindness, and sent us more than a hundred large fish on board. When they were informed that they might expect me in the morning, they expressed their hope that I would not fail, and signified their wish to see some of my officers along with me. I must confess that this invitation ought to have excited some degree of suspicion; but I was led into the error of disbelieving Jakuschkin. As an officer, this midshipman was zealous in the performance of his duty; but his curiosity was insatiable: he wished to be everywhere, and to see everything with his own eyes. I therefore conjectured that it was not agreeable to him to see me go ashore by myself, and that he had invented this invitation in order that I might be induced to take him with me next day. What confirmed me in this notion was, that at the same moment he asked leave to make one of the party; this I was, however, under the necessity of refusing, as I had previously promised to take Midshipman Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff, the pilot.

Next morning, July the 11th, at eight o'clock, I landed with the above-named officers, the Kurile Alexei, and four seamen.\* So fully was I persuaded that we stood on a friendly footing with the Japanese, that I had not ordered the men to arm themselves. The officers, three in number, including myself, had each a sword, in addition to which Mr. Chlebnikoff brought with him a pocket

\* Their names were Dmitry Simanoff, Spiridon Makaroff, Michailo Schkajeff, and Grygory Wassiljeff.

pistol, more for the purpose of making a signal in the event of a fog, than for defence. On passing the cask which we had sent on shore, we looked into it, and found all the things we had placed there unremoved. I again recollected what had happened to Laxman, and ascribed this circumstance to the Japanese practice of accepting no presents while a negotiation was pending. At last we landed close to the fortress. The Oyagoda, and two officers whom I had sent the day before, came out to meet us, and begged that we would wait a little until everything was prepared for our reception in the castle. Wishing by my confidence in the Japanese to extinguish any suspicion they might yet entertain, I ordered the boat to be hauled up on the shore until it was half out of the water. We left one man with it, and the other seamen I directed to follow us, carrying seats, and the presents which I destined for the Japanese. We walked from ten to fifteen minutes on the shore, during which time I conversed with the Oyagoda. I made inquiries respecting the coast of Matsmai, of which we had a view, and the trade between Kunashier and the peninsula of Nippon. I remarked, however, that he answered my questions with reluctance. Finally, we proceeded to the castle.

On entering the castle gate, I was astonished at the number of men I saw assembled there. Of soldiers alone, I observed from three to four hundred, armed with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears, sitting in a circle, in an open space to the right of the gate; on the left a countless multitude of Kuriles surrounded a tent of striped cotton cloth, erected about thirty paces from the gate. This small insignificant place seemed incapable of containing so many men, and I concluded that they must have been collected from all the neighbouring garrisons since we appeared in the harbour.

We were soon introduced into the tent, on a seat opposite to the entrance of which the governor had placed himself. He wore a rich silk dress, with a complete suit of armour, and had two sabres under his girdle. A long cord of white silk passed over his shoulder; at one end of this cord was a tassel of the same material, and at the other a steel baton, which he held in his hand, and which was doubtless the symbol of his authority. His armour-bearers, one holding a spear, another a musket, and a third his helmet, sat behind him on the floor. The helmet resembled that of the second in command, with this difference, that instead of the figure of the moon, it bore the image of the sun. The Oyagoda, or lieutenant-governor, now sat on the left of the governor, on a seat somewhat lower than that of his superior; he too had his armour-bearers behind him. Four officers were sitting cross-legged on the floor on each side of the tent: they wore black armour, and had each two sabres. On our entrance the governor and lieutenant-governor both rose up; we saluted them in our own manner, and they returned the compliment. They invited us to sit down on a bench which was placed directly opposite to themselves, but we chose to use the seats we had brought with us. Our sailors seated themselves on the bench behind us. The introductory civilities being concluded, they entertained us with tea without sugar, in cups which, according to the Japanese fashion, were only half filled; the cups had no saucers, but were handed to us on small trays made of varnished wood. Before they offered us the tea, they asked whether we would prefer anything else. Pipes and tobacco were afterwards brought to us, and the conference commenced. They desired to know our names and rank, the name of our ship, whence we came, whither we were bound, why

we had visited them, what had induced Russian ships to attack their villages, and further, whether we knew Resanoff, and where he now was? Our answers to these questions were conformable to the statements we had previously made, and were written down by the lieutenant-governor. We were next told that to enable them to prepare the proper quantity of provisions we wanted, it was necessary they should know the exact number of our crew. Ridiculous as this question was, they had an object in putting it. On our part we thought it advisable to make our force appear more considerable than it was, and therefore doubled it, calling it one hundred and two men. Alexei could neither understand nor express this number; and I was obliged to make an equivalent number of marks with a black-lead pencil on paper, which the Japanese counted off. We were further asked whether we had any other ships of the size of the 'Diana,' in their seas? We answered that we had many in Okotzk, Kamtschatka, and America. Among their questions were several of a very insignificant nature, relative to our dress, customs, &c. They also carefully examined the presents I had brought for the governor, among which were maps of the globe, ivory-handled knives, burning-glasses, and piastres, with which I intended to pay for a supply of provisions, as soon as I could ascertain the sum required.

While the conference was going on, Mr. Moor observed that naked sabres had been distributed among the soldiers who were sitting in the open space. He immediately mentioned this to me; but I supposed that a sabre or two might have been accidentally out of the sheaths; and I asked him, whether he had not made a mistake, as the Japanese always carry swords, and could at present have no reason for drawing them. This remark

appeared to satisfy him; but circumstances soon occurred which roused all our suspicion, and convinced us that some mischief was intended against us. The lieutenant-governor having withdrawn for a short time, as if to make some arrangement, returned, and whispered to the governor, who immediately rose up to go away. We got up also to take our leave; and I repeated my question respecting the price of provisions, and also asked whether he intended to supply us with any? On hearing this he sat down, invited us to do the same, and, though it was early in the day, ordered dinner to be served up.

We accepted his invitation, and waited with impatience to see what would next occur, as it now appeared we were caught in a snare from which it would be difficult to escape. But the kind behaviour of the Japanese, and their assurances that we had nothing to fear, again tranquilized us, and banished any suspicion of their treachery. They entertained us with rice, fish in a green sauce, and other savoury dishes, the ingredients composing which we did not know. They also gave us *sagi*. After we had dined, the governor was again about to withdraw. I now declared that we could wait no longer, but must return immediately on board. On hearing this, he once more sat down, and having intimated that he could not supply us with anything without an order from the Governor of Matsmai, under whose jurisdiction he was, he proposed that one of us should remain in the castle as a hostage, until a decision should be returned by that commander on the report he was about to transmit to him. The Japanese began now to throw off the mask. I desired to be informed what time would be occupied in sending the report to Matsmai and obtaining an answer; he replied a fortnight. I felt, however, that it would be dishonourable to leave an officer behind me as a hostage.

There was, besides, no knowing when such an affair would be brought to a conclusion with a people like the Japanese. It was probable that when the report reached Matsmai the commander of that island would say he could do nothing without the authority of the general government; thus I perhaps should have to wait until winter for a decisive answer. I, therefore, stated that I could not wait so long without consulting the officers who remained on board the 'Diana,' and that I would leave no officer as a hostage; upon which we rose to go away.

The governor, who had hitherto conversed in a mild and gentle tone, now altered his manner. He spoke loudly, and with warmth; frequently mentioned Resanoto (Resanoff) and Nicola-Sandrejetsch (Nicolai Alexandrovitch, meaning Chwostoff, the captain of the Company's ship) and struck his hand several times on his sabre. In this manner he made a long speech, of which the terrified Alexei interpreted to us only the following sentence:—"The governor says that if he let a single one of us out of the castle his own bowels will be ript up." This was brief and decisive! We instantly made all the haste we could to escape. The Japanese did not venture to close upon us, but set up a loud cry, and threw oars and large pieces of wood at us, to knock us down. On our reaching the gate they fired several times on us, but without effect, though one of the balls whistled past the head of Mr. Chlebnikoff. We now found that they had succeeded in detaining Mr. Moor, the seaman Makaroff, and our Kurile Alexei, in the castle. We ran, however, to our landing-place; but on arriving there, perceived with dismay that the tide had ebbed above five fathoms, and left the strand quite dry. As the Japanese saw that it was impossible for us to get the boat afloat, and had previously assured themselves that it contained no arms, they



gained confidence, advanced upon us with drawn sabre which they held in both hands, muskets and spears, and surrounded us. I cast a look upon the boat, and said to myself: "It must be so—our last refuge is lost—our fate is inevitable!" I surrendered. The Japanese seized me by the arms, and conducted me to the castle, into which my companions were also conveyed. On the way thither a soldier struck me several times on the shoulder with a small iron bar, but one of the officers said something to him, accompanied with a look of displeasure, and he immediately desisted.

## CHAPTER II.

Cruel treatment of the captives—They are conveyed to the coast of Matsmai—Fishing villages—Travelling by land in boats—Halting places—View of the town—Bay of Atkis—Night quarters and Japanese beds—Food—Tea of native growth—Plans for escape—Writing of the Japanese—Populous villages along the coast—The Matsmai Kuriles—Formal entrance into the city of Chakodade—Description of the prison in which Golownin and his companions are confined.

WE were conducted into the same tent in which we had held the conference, but neither of the commanders with whom we had communicated were now there. The first thing done was to tie our hands behind our backs, and conduct us into an extensive but low building, which resembled a barrack, and which was situated opposite to the tent in the direction of the shore. Here we were all, except Makaroff (whom we had not seen since our separation), placed on our knees, and bound in the cruelest manner, with cords about the thickness of a finger: and as though this were not enough, another binding with smaller cords followed, which was still more painful. The Japanese are exceedingly expert at this work; and it would appear that they conform to some precise regulation in binding their prisoners, for we were all tied exactly in the same manner. There were the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances, on the cords with which each of us was bound. There were loops round our

breasts and necks ; our elbows almost touched each other, and our hands were firmly bound together : from these fastenings proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, and which on the slightest attempt to escape required only to be drawn to make the elbows come in contact, with the greatest pain, and to tighten the noose about the neck to such a degree as almost to produce strangulation. Besides all this, they tied our legs in two places, above the knees and above the ankles : they then passed ropes from our necks over the cross-beams of the building, and drew them so tight that we found it impossible to move. Their next operation was searching our pockets, out of which they took everything, and then proceeded very tranquilly to smoke tobacco. While they were binding us, the lieutenant-governor showed himself twice, and pointed to his mouth, to intimate, perhaps, that it was intended to feed us, not to kill us.

We passed an hour in this melancholy and painful situation, without being able to form any idea of what was to be done with us. We indeed supposed, when the ropes were passed over the cross-beams, that we were about to be hanged. I never so totally despised death as at that moment, and I wished with all my heart that the murder we anticipated might be perpetrated without delay. We once fancied that we should be carried to the outside of the castle, and there hung up within sight of our countrymen ; and in our state of despair this notion was in some measure consolatory. I was persuaded that if we were so inhumanly murdered before the eyes of our friends and shipmates, their hatred of the Japanese and their desire of vengeance would be further augmented ; and that when they carried back the news of this massacre to Russia, the same feelings would be excited in the hearts of our sovereign and his people. At length, after the

lapse of some time, they removed the cords from above our ankles, and having also loosened those above our knees, they led us first into a field, and then into a wood. We were bound so fast, that a child might have conducted us whithersoever he pleased. The Japanese, however, did not think so lightly of the business. Each captive was led with a cord, by a particular conductor, and had also an armed soldier walking by his side. In this manner we moved onward in a file, one behind the other.

On ascending a hill, we beheld our ship under sail. This sight lacerated my heart. Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was immediately behind me, exclaimed: "Wassly Michailovitsch!—take a last look of our 'Diana!'" A thrill of horror pervaded my frame! Good heaven! thought I, how much is comprehended in these words!—Take a last look of Russia, of Europe—we belong now to another world! We are not dead, but all there is lost and dead to us. Never more shall we know what is passing in our country, in Europe, or in any part of the world! I felt, in its fullest depth, the misery of my situation.

When we had walked the distance of two wersts, we heard a cannonade. We could easily distinguish the firing of our sloop, from that of the castle; but the strong garrison of the Japanese, and the thick earthen wall which formed their fortification, afforded us no reason to expect any fortunate result from the contest. We were afraid lest the 'Diana' might catch fire or run aground, and the whole crew fall into the hands of the Japanese. In this case the knowledge of our dreadful fate would never reach Russia. What I most dreaded, however, was, that the attachment which Lieutenant Rikord and the other officers entertained for me, would induce them to brave every danger, and land with the crew, to storm the garrison. They might, I feared, make the attempt, as

they were not aware how greatly the strength of the garrison exceeded that of the sloop's crew; which, officers, seamen, &c., amounted only to fifty-one men. This idea troubled me the more, as we could learn nothing of the fate of the 'Diana.'

I was so tightly bound, particularly about the neck, that, before we had travelled six or seven wersts, I could scarcely breathe. My companions told me that my face was swollen and discoloured. I was almost blind, and could not speak without the greatest difficulty. We made signs to the Japanese, and requested them, through the interpretation of Alexei, to loosen the cord a little, but the cannonade so frightened them, that they paid no attention to our remonstrances; they only urged us to move faster, and kept constantly looking behind them. Life now appeared a heavy burthen to me, and I resolved, in case we should have to pass a river, to make a sudden spring into the water, and thus terminate a painful existence. I soon saw, however, that it would not be easy to execute this purpose, as the Japanese always held us fast by the arms when we had occasion to cross even a little brook. I fell at length senseless on the ground; when I recovered, I found some persons sprinkling me with water, and the blood flowing from my mouth and nose. My companions, Moor and Chlebnikoff, were in deep distress, and imploring some persons to loosen the cords with which I was bound. They at last, with the greatest difficulty, prevailed on them to comply. I then found myself much eased, and was soon able to make an effort to proceed.

After a journey of about ten wersts, we arrived at a small village, situated on the straits which divide the Island of Kunashier from Matsmai. We were conducted into a house, where boiled rice was offered us, but we felt

no desire to partake of food of any kind. On our declining to eat, we were taken into another apartment, in which we were laid down close to the walls, so as not to touch each other. The ropes by which we had been led were attached to iron hooks, driven into the wall for that purpose. Our boots were pulled off, and our legs tied as before in two places : having secured us in this way, our guards sat down in the middle of the room round a chafing-dish, and drank tea and smoked. Any man might have slept tranquilly beside lions, bound as fast as we were, but it would seem that our guards did not think themselves secure. The cords with which we were tied were inspected every quarter of an hour. At this moment we regarded the Japanese as the rudest barbarians on the face of the earth, but subsequent events convinced us that there are kind-hearted men among them : we were afterwards rendered more comfortable, indeed as much so as men could be under such circumstances.

The sailor Makaroff, who had been separated from us in the castle, but who now joined us, related that as soon as the Japanese seized him, they took him to a barrack, where the soldiers treated him with sagi and boiled rice. They then bound his hands, and conveyed him out of the fort ; but when they had taken him to a short distance he was unbound. In this way they conducted him to the village, where he was again secured. He was allowed to rest on the way, and one of the soldiers gave him a draught of sagi out of his flask.

Throughout the night we lay on the ground, secured by cords, in the manner above described. Whilst racked by pain of body and anguish of mind, the generous conduct of my two officers, Moor and Chlebnikoff, made a deep impression upon me. Instead of casting reflections on my rash confidence in the Japanese, they endeavoured



to console me, and reproached some of the sailors when they began to murmur, and to ascribe their misfortune to my want of prudence. I can, however, declare that no murmurs ever caused me to feel the slightest dissatisfaction towards those men. They had, indeed, ample reason for complaint, but while they bewailed their distressed situation, they observed such respect towards me, that I felt their complaints most severely. Our misfortune had placed us all on a footing of equality. Every hope of returning to Russia had vanished, and men in their situation might well have been excused, had they vented reproaches on me.

We observed that the captain of our guard repeatedly received scraps of paper, which he read, and handed to those about him. On reading those papers, our guards discoursed in a very low tone of voice, and with the utmost caution: though we understood not a single word of Japanese, they nevertheless seemed fearful lest we should comprehend what they said. I desired Alexei to attend to their conversation, and to endeavour to make us acquainted with it. He told me that they had received these papers from the garrison, and that they were talking of our sloop and the Russians; but this was all he could collect from their discourse.

At the approach of twilight, our guards began to bestir themselves, and seemed to be preparing for a journey. About midnight, a broad plank was brought in, to the four corners of which ropes were attached: these ropes were fastened at the top, and slung across a pole, the ends of which were laid on men's shoulders; and thus the whole was suspended. I was placed upon this plank, and immediately borne away. We now concluded that we were to be separated for ever, and that we could entertain no hope of seeing each other again.

Our farewell was like the parting of friends at the hour of death.

The sailors wept aloud as they bade me adieu, and my heart was wrung on leaving them. I was conveyed to the sea-side, and placed in a large boat, with a mat beneath me. In a few moments, Mr. Moor was likewise brought to the shore in the same way as I had been, and was placed in the boat beside me. This was indeed an unexpected happiness. I was so overjoyed, that for a few moments I experienced a diminution of my torment. Moor was soon followed by Mr. Chlebnikoff, and the sailors Simanoff and Wassiljeff; the rest were placed in another boat. A soldier under arms was stationed between each of us. We were then covered over with mats, and the boats were rowed from the shore.

The Japanese sat beside us without either saying a word, or taking the slightest notice of our complaints; with the exception, however, of one—a young man, about twenty years of age, who spoke the Kurile language, and who kept constantly singing and mocking us while he assisted in rowing the boat. He counterfeited the sound of our voices, when anguish both of body and mind forced us to offer up supplications to Heaven, or to break forth in bitter lamentations.

At break of day, on the 12th of July, we landed near a little village, on the coast of the Island of Matsmai. Here we were removed into other boats, which were drawn with ropes along the shore in a south-easterly direction. In this way we were dragged the whole of that day and the following night. There was no halting, except at certain fixed places, where the men, who were employed in the dragging, and who came from the neighbouring villages, were relieved. The whole coast was, thickly strewed with buildings and habitations of

various kinds. Between every third or fourth werst we observed populous villages, in all of which extensive fisheries appeared to be carried on.

The methods adopted by the Japanese in this branch of industry are in many respects singular. We frequently passed by at the moment when they were drawing their large nets out of the water, filled with an incalculable number of fish.\* The best fish in these parts are of the salmon species, and they are likewise caught at Kamtschatka.

The Japanese frequently offered us stewed rice and broiled fish; and when any one of our party expressed a wish to partake of these dishes, they lifted the food to his mouth with two or three pieces of stick, which were used by them instead of forks.

Our guards even carried their attention to us so far, that some of them stood constantly near us with boughs of shrubs in their hands, to drive off the gnats and flies. We were not a little surprised at this inconsistent conduct; for, notwithstanding their excessive care to protect us from the flies, they showed the utmost indifference to our complaints, and never offered to relieve our suffering by loosening the cords with which we were bound.

Mr. Moor, who perceived that I was harassed with vexation at having been over-reached by the Japanese, referred to the examples of Cook, De Langle, Prince Zizianoff, and others, who had become the victims of similar treachery. Yet I thought their fate far preferable to my own. They had perished, whilst I was doomed to live—the cause and the witness of the sufferings of my com-

\* The Japanese usually throw out their large nets at a distance of from twenty to twenty-five fathoms from the shore. There they suffer them to remain until they are filled with fish, which are extremely abundant during the fishing season. A number of men then seize both ends, and drag them ashore with one pull.

panions. To the honour of Mr. Chlebnikoff, I must declare that he manifested more resignation than any of our party. He never murmured, but consoled himself with the reflection, that no human wisdom or foresight could have averted a misfortune, to which, in his opinion, we had been doomed by all-governing fate. I, however, entertained very different notions of predestination. In my opinion, men who are to blame for their own misfortunes, are as a warning to others, justly visited with the pain of repentance and sorrow; but, on the contrary, those whom fate has plunged into a state of misery, which no earthly wisdom or foresight could have averted, are exempt from remorse, and therefore bear their destiny with calmness.

At break of day, on the 13th of July, we stopped to breakfast at a little village, the inhabitants of which immediately collected on the shore to look at us. A grey-haired man, of very venerable appearance, begged that our guards would allow him to furnish us with a breakfast and some sagi. This permission was granted, and the old man stood near the boats during the whole time of the repast, to see that we wanted for nothing. The expression of his countenance plainly showed that he sincerely pitied us. This trait of benevolence and sympathy for our misfortunes, in an utter stranger, afforded us no little consolation. We now began to entertain a better opinion of the Japanese, and no longer regarded them in so barbarous a light as their previous conduct seemed to justify.

When we had finished our breakfast, the boats were again dragged along the shore. The weather was calm and serene; the thick clouds, which before obscured the horizon, had now dispersed. All the neighbouring hills and coasts, including Kunashier, and the banks which

gird its fatal harbour, lay full before us, brightened by the dawn of morning; but our 'Diana' had disappeared. Indeed, to have beheld her would only have increased our affliction.

An hour or two before sunrise, we stopped in front of some huts, which were inhabited by Kuriles. Here the Japanese, assisted by the Kuriles, pulled the boats ashore, without desiring us or our guards to get out; and having dragged us through several thickets and a little wood, they proceeded to ascend a hill, and as they advanced, cleared the road with hatchets and other implements. We were utterly unable to divine what could have induced them to drag boats of such extraordinary size\* up an acclivity. We suspected that they had caught a glimpse of the 'Diana,' and were consequently fearful of being deprived of their booty; but we soon discovered the real cause, for when the boats had reached the summit of the hill, which was tolerably high, they dragged them down the other side into a little stream, which had very much the appearance of an artificial canal. We travelled in this manner by land in the boats about the distance of three or four wersts. During this journey, Wassiljeff began to bleed at the nose as profusely as if he had had a vein opened. We begged that the cords which passed round his throat might be loosened; but the Japanese paid no regard to our entreaties, and proceeded to insert cotton in his nostrils; but observing that this did not diminish the effusion of blood, they slackened the cords, though in a very slight degree.

The boat being dragged into the stream, and fairly afloat, our guards began to treat us somewhat more kindly, probably because they now no longer feared an attack

\* Our boat was at least thirty feet long, and eight feet broad.

from our sloop. They endeavoured to explain to us by signs, that in the course of eight or ten days we would reach Matsmai, where, after our case should be investigated by the superior authorities, we would be set at liberty, and permitted to return to Russia. Though we could not place full faith in this assurance, we did not entirely discredit it, and a faint ray of hope again beamed upon us.

The stream emptied itself into a large lake, which communicated with several others. Our boats floated slowly over this lake the whole of that night, and the day following. When we arrived at places where the water was shallow, the Kuriles jumped out of the boat, and dragged it. It rained violently the whole night, and the Japanese covered us over with mats. These were, however, so frequently tossed off, that we found it necessary, every other moment, to request that they would lay them straight again. One of the soldiers, who stood near Mr. Chlebnikoff, was always ready to do anything to serve us : the attention of the rest was, on the contrary, only evinced during the day : they were always displeased if we disturbed them at night. We were completely soaked with rain. One of the guards struck Mr. Moor for troubling him so frequently ; but, for this act of insolence, he was immediately reprimanded by the rest. At midnight, we stopped before a small village or town, to relieve the rowers. Large fires were burning near the shore, and by the light we discovered a number of Japanese soldiers and Kuriles drawn up rank and file. The former were in their military dresses, wearing armour, and bearing muskets ; the latter were armed with bows and arrows. Their chief stood in front, clothed in a rich silken garment, and holding in one hand a symbol of his power, which somewhat resembled a balance. The captain of our guard advanced to him with manifestations of the highest respect ;

and, kneeling down with his head inclined towards the earth, he continued a long time engaged in relating something to him, probably giving an account of our seizure. The chief then came on board our boat, and inspected each of us with a lantern. I entreated that he would order our guards to loosen the cords with which we were bound. The guards immediately comprehended us, and interpreted our request. Instead of returning an answer, the chief began to laugh, and after muttering something between his teeth, he stepped ashore. On a signal being given, our boats rowed off.

On the night of the 15th, we suddenly stopped before a large fire, which had been kindled on the shore. Our guards unbound our feet, and conducted us to the fire. After we had warmed ourselves, we ascended a high hill, and entered a large empty building, apparently a store-house, in which there was no aperture except the door. There our conductors laid us down, provided us with covering, and having again bound our feet in the same way as before, presented us with boiled rice and fish. The Japanese now began to drink tea, and smoke tobacco, and seemed to give themselves no further concern about us. On the 15th, it rained violently the whole day; we, therefore, remained where we were, and, indeed, scarcely ever altered our positions. Three times in the course of the day we were offered boiled rice, fish, and a kind of soup made of mushrooms.

On the morning of the 16th, the sky became serene, and our guards made preparations to depart. The bandages above our ankles were now removed, but those above our knees were merely loosened sufficiently to enable us to walk: our boots were then drawn on, and we were conducted into the open air. We were now asked whether we preferred walking, or being carried in litters? We all



chose to walk, except Alexei, who complained of excessive pain in his feet. The Japanese Oyagoda, or commander of the district, took a considerable time to determine on the order of our procession ; however, he at length disposed of us in the following manner : two Japanese from the neighbouring village proceeded first, walking side by side, and carrying staves of red wood, very handsomely carved : their business was to direct our course. These were relieved, on entering the next district, by two new guides, carrying staves of the same description. The guides were followed by three soldiers. Next came my turn, with a soldier on one side, and on the other an attendant, who, with a twig, kept the gnats and flies from fixing upon me. Behind me was a conductor, who held together the ends of the ropes with which I was bound. We were followed by a party of Kuriles, carrying my litter ;\* and after them came another party, destined to relieve the others when fatigued. Next came Mr. Moor, guarded in the same manner as I was ; after him Mr. Chlebnikoff ; then the sailors, one following another ; and last of all Alexei. The whole retinue was closed by three soldiers, and a number of Japanese and Kurile servants, carrying provisions, and the baggage of our escort. The party must have amounted to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred men. Each individual had a wooden tablet suspended from his girdle, on which was an inscription, stating with which of us he was stationed, and what were the duties of his office. The

\* This litter consisted of a plank, about four feet, or four and a half long, and two and a half feet broad. At each corner of the plank twigs were fixed, the upper ends of which were fastened together at the distance of four feet above the plank. Through these twigs a pole was passed, which the Kuriles bore on their shoulders, walking three before and three behind. The litter was covered over with matting, in order to shelter it from the rain.

Oyagoda had all this noted down with a list of their names.

The Japanese frequently halted to rest on the way, and always offered us boiled rice, salt fish, dried herrings, and mushrooms : tea, without sugar, was our only drink. About noon they entered a tolerably spacious and neat country-house, for the purpose of dining. The owner of this house, who was a young man, furnished us himself with provisions and *sagi*. He ordered beds to be prepared for us, and proposed that we should rest there for the night. To this our conductors gave their assent ; but we expressed a wish to proceed on our journey. The excessive pain of our arms induced us to wish as quickly as possible to arrive at our journey's end ; for, if we could place confidence in the assurance of the Japanese, we were to be unbound on reaching Matsmai. In the afternoon we proceeded at a very rapid pace, as our guards wished to reach the town of Atkis before night. We were likewise equally anxious to advance, since they assured us, that, on arriving there, we should be unbound for a while, and that a surgeon would be directed to dress the sores which the tying of the ropes had occasioned on our arms and legs. The weather was fine, but excessively warm. We almost fainted with fatigue, and were scarcely able to advance another step. To seat ourselves comfortably in the litters was impossible, for they were so small, that it was necessary, when we tried to use them, to contract our bodies ; and as our hands were bound, we were unable without assistance to change the position in which we happened to be placed. Unfortunately, our road lay along a foot-path which crossed a forest, and as the Kuriles advanced with great rapidity, our litters frequently came in contact with the trunks of the trees. This occasioned an insupportable shock, and after an experiment of ten

minutes duration, we were usually obliged to get out of our litters and to proceed on foot.

Shortly before sun-set we reached a little stream, where two boats were waiting for us. This stream, we were informed, communicated with the harbour upon which Atkis was built, and whither we soon expected to arrive. Mr. Moor, myself, and two sailors, were placed in one of the boats, and Mr. Chlebnikoff and the rest of our party in the other. The boats were hung round with matting, so that, excepting the sky, every external object was screened from our sight. Men in a situation like ours are naturally inclined to notice mere trifles, and try, if possible, to derive consolation from every occurrence. We, accordingly, regarded this circumstance in a favourable point of view, and concluded that the distrust of the Japanese had induced them to veil the bay and sea-port from our observation, to prevent us from acquiring further knowledge of that part of their coast. If so, thought we, our guards are right in supposing that our imprisonment will not last for ever, and that sooner or later we shall obtain our freedom: why else should they conceal from us objects, the sight of which, if we were to be imprisoned for life, we could never turn to their disadvantage? This thought revived our hopes, so that we almost forgot our misery, and were as cheerful as though the period of our liberation had already approached. In the meanwhile our boats reached the bay. Our flattering anticipations were now at their height, when one of the soldiers suddenly tore down part of the matting, and by a sign gave us to understand that we might rise and take a view of the town and bay. Alas! we were in a moment plunged from the highest pinnacle of hope into the deepest despair. The idea of regaining our freedom seemed all a dream: the Japanese, said we, conceal nothing from us; there is,

therefore, little ground for supposing that they will liberate us of their own accord. Though this circumstance tended greatly to depress our spirits, yet hope never completely forsook us. We soon recollected that a Russian transport had entered the same bay twenty years before ; and that, consequently, the Japanese could have no reason to conceal from us that with which the Russians had long since been acquainted. We should, however, have enjoyed much greater consolation had the soldier left the mat standing, though its use was probably to keep off the flies, and not to deprive us of a view of the bay and city.

It was night when we entered Atkis. A detachment of soldiers came out to meet us, and conducted us to the castle, which was hung round with striped cotton cloth. We were shown into a neat house, the interior of which was remarkably clean, and adorned with paintings after the Japanese taste. We were ushered into a large apartment, to the walls of which planks with iron hooks were affixed, and to these hooks the ends of our ropes were fastened. Our guards besides supplied us with beds and cotton quilts,\* and gave us some supper. They then bound

\* The Japanese beds consist, according to the circumstances of the owners, of large silken or cotton quilts, lined with thick wadding. These quilts are folded double, and spread upon the floor, which, even in the humblest cottages, is covered with beautiful soft straw mats. On retiring to rest, the Japanese wrap themselves in large, loose night-dresses, with short full sleeves; these are likewise either of cotton or silk, and are thickly wadded. Instead of pillows, they make use of pieces of wood, carved in various forms. The poorer class of people place under their heads a piece of round wood, hollow at one end, and, from custom, they sleep as soundly on this as on the softest pillow. The higher or richer classes make use of a very neat box, about eleven inches high, to the lid of which an oval cushion is affixed, from six to eight inches in length, and from two to three in breadth. This box contains articles for the toilette, such as razors, scissors, pomatum, tooth-brushes, powder, &c.

our feet as before, and in this situation we remained until next morning.

On the 17th of July we rested in Atkis. In the morning our hands were unbound for a few minutes, and rags were rolled round the parts which were excoriated by the ropes. We were utterly unable to place our hands in their natural position; and when the Japanese forced them asunder, the pain was excruciating, and far more severe than when they bound them together again. We received food three times every day, and were provided with cotton wadded night-gowns to throw over our own clothes, to protect us from the cold and rain.

On the morning of the 18th, we passed over to a village on the south side of the bay, where we breakfasted, and then proceeded on our journey in the manner before described. Our litters were still carried behind us, and we might have lain down if we had wished. Our conductors, for the most part, proceeded on foot, though they occasionally, by way of relaxation, for a short time mounted pack-horses.

During the whole journey, the Japanese uniformly observed the same regulations. At daybreak we prepared for our departure, breakfasted, and then set out. Our conductors frequently stopped in villages to rest, or to drink tea and smoke tobacco. At noon we dined. Having rested for one hour after dinner, we again proceeded, and an hour or two before sunset we halted for the night, usually in a village furnished with a small garrison. These night-quarters, when we first entered, were generally hung round with striped cotton cloth. We were always conducted to a neat house,\* and placed altogether in one apartment,

\* On one occasion only we were quartered in a little village, in an empty magazine, which had previously served as a storehouse for rice. The heat of this place was quite insupportable; and the multitude of

where our guards never failed to fasten us to iron hooks which were fixed into the walls.

When we arrived at the station where we were to pass the night, we were always conducted to the front of the house belonging to the person possessing the highest authority in the place; we were there seated on benches covered with mats, and he came out to inspect us. We were then taken to the house allotted for our lodging; on entering which our boots and stockings were taken off, and our feet bathed with warm water, in which there was a solution of salt. We were regularly provided with meals three times a-day; namely, breakfast in the morning before we set out on our journey, dinner about noon, and supper in the evening, in our night-quarters. There was, however, little variety in our diet; it consisted usually of boiled rice instead of bread, two pieces of pickled radish for seasoning, broth made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of macaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish. Sometimes they gave us stewed mushrooms, and each a hard-boiled egg. There was no limitation as to quantity; every one ate as much as he pleased. Our general beverage was very indifferent tea, without sugar: they seldom gave us *sagi*. Our guards fared as we did; and I suppose the expense of their provisions, as well as ours, was defrayed by the government, for at each station the senior among our conductors paid for everything.

On the 19th, we implored the Japanese to untie our hands, that we might better arrange the pieces of cloth which had been wrapped about them, and which had become so hard with blood and purulent matter, that the friction produced by the slightest movement caused extreme

vermin crawling on the ground rendered it disgusting in the utmost degree.

pain. In consequence of our solicitations, they sat down in a circle and held a council.\* After some deliberation, it was resolved to grant our request; but under the condition that we should be again searched, and every article of metal taken from us. This had been already done in the castle, but our guards thought it necessary to repeat the precaution. We readily complied, and they hastened to relieve us from our torment. I had in the under-part of my dress a key, which they did not discover in their search, and I showed it them when my hands were free. This threw them into dreadful alarm, and they began to search me over again. Their caution, however, or rather their fear, would not allow them to loosen the hands of all our party at once; only two at a time were unbound, and merely for the space of fifteen minutes. They then changed the cloth bandages, and tied our hands as before.

This day an officer, who had been dispatched from Kuna-shier, came up with us, and took the command of our guard.† He treated us with kindness; and on the following day (the 20th) he ordered our hands to be unbound, leaving the elbows tied. We were now, for the first time since our imprisonment, able to use our hands in taking food; and the motion of walking was much easier to us. When we had to be ferried over in boats from one point of

\* Our escort consisted of soldiers belonging to the principality of Nambu. They were all of equal rank; and though generally directed by the oldest among them, in any case which required a departure from the common course of things, they consulted together.

† From his splendid dress, and the respect which our escort showed him, we concluded that he was a person of distinction; but we afterwards learned that he was merely a private in the service of the Emperor of Japan, and, as an imperial soldier, had rank and privileges far superior to the soldiers of a principality. Our escort regarded him as their commander; he never ate with them, and a particular apartment was always assigned to his use.



land to another, our hands were re-bound ; but these passages were short, and not of frequent occurrence. The Japanese exercised so much precaution, that in the course of our journey they would scarcely ever allow us to go near the water. When we wished to approach it, as walking on the soft sand eased our feet, they only with reluctance permitted us to do so, and then they always walked between us and the water. Not only were they thus vigilant in preserving us from the commission of suicide, but they also guarded us against everything which they thought might injure our health. They took care that our feet should never be wet, and we were all, sailors as well as officers, carried over the shallowest pools or streamlets we had to cross. In the course of our journey, we often met with raspberries and strawberries, which, at first, they would not allow us to pluck, as they conceived them to be unwholesome. We assured them, however, that quite the contrary opinion prevailed in Russia, and we were at last permitted to refresh ourselves with the fruit.

We passed the 21st and 22nd in a village which, though small, had a garrison and a commandant. The rain had raised a river to such a height as to prevent us from prosecuting our journey. There was in this village a medical professor, who was directed to do something to remove the effects of the severe binding we had undergone. For this purpose he employed a powder which very much resembled white ceruse, and which he strewed on the wounds. To the swellings and indurations on the hands and fingers he applied white plaister, the ingredients composing which I could not discover. We soon experienced great ease from the operation of his medicaments, a sufficiency of which for use during our journey was provided.

We could now sleep tranquilly and walk with ease. When fatigued, we reposed in our litters, in which we could recline without experiencing any particular pain. The behaviour of the Japanese became more and more kind. At every station the person first in authority in the village always visited us, and frequently made inquiries relative to Laxman and the Russians who accompanied him, whom some of the Japanese still recollected. They also often mentioned Resanoff. They praised the former and held out the hope to us that the Japanese Government would not condemn us to perpetual captivity, but would, in due time, set us free.

In every village, on our arrival and departure, we were surrounded with crowds of both sexes, young and old, who were drawn together by curiosity to see us; and yet on these occasions we never experienced the slightest insult or offence. All, particularly the women, contemplated us with an air of pity and compassion. If we asked for drink to quench our thirst, they were emulous to supply us. Many solicited permission of our guards to entertain us, and on their request being granted, brought us *sagi*, comfits, fruits or other delicacies. On one occasion the chief of a village treated us with some very good tea with sugar.\*

\* The Japanese have tea of native growth, both black and green; the former is very bad: it is like the Chinese tea only in colour, but bears no resemblance to it in taste or smell. The Japanese constantly drink it both warm and cold, without sugar, as the Russians do *kwass*. Green tea they drink seldom, and only as a luxury. They previously roast or heat it at a fire, in paper canisters, until the vapour issuing from it has a very strong smell; it is then thrown into a copper tea-kettle, containing boiling water, and thus acquires a peculiar flavour, of which the Japanese are very fond, though it proved disagreeable to us. They have no loaf sugar. Muscovado of the best sort is brought to them by the Dutch: it is sold in little baskets, and is very dear. They have brown sugar of their own, but it is very impure, dark coloured, and by no means sweet. They very seldom take sugar with their tea, but prefer eating it by itself. They usually take

They often inquired respecting an European nation called Orando, and a country to which they gave the name of Kabo. We assured them that we knew of no such people or countries in Europe; upon which they expressed surprise, and testified distrust at our answer. Sometime after we learned that the Japanese called the Dutch, Orando, and the Cape of Good Hope, Kabo.

Alexei, with whom we had frequent opportunities of conversing in the course of our journeys, as well as in the night-quarters, informed us, that about ten years ago some Kamtschatdale priests had conveyed a party of Kuriles, in a baidare, from the Island of Raschaua to Eetooroop, which is under the dominion of the Japanese, for the purpose of converting the hairy Kuriles to Christianity, or, as Alexei expressed himself, "to teach their people our faith." Among these Kuriles were Alexei and his father. When we inquired what instruction the Popes had sent to them, he replied: "The Popes gave us a great many copper images of saints, and written prayers,\* with pictures, and desired us to show them to the hairy Kuriles, and to tell them that the images represented the Russian God; and that, if they hung them about their necks, they would live long and happily, would never suffer sickness, and would hereafter exist in another world." He further added, that the Popes received a fox-skin from the Kuriles, in return for every image or prayer. On arriving at Eetooroop they were, however, seized by the Japanese, who took from them the images and prayer-books. On being asked what these things

a spoonful in one hand, and eat it as children do. When we offered our guards any of the sugar which had been given to us in presents, they always refused it; but no sooner did we fall asleep, than they ate it by stealth.

\* Probably printed prayer-books.

meant, and why they had brought them thither, they candidly replied: "That the images represented the Russian God, and they had been sent by the Russians to convert the inhabitants of Eetoorooop to the Russian faith." The Japanese placed a strict watch over them; but they were fortunate enough one night to effect their escape, and to reach the shore, where they found a boat, in which they rowed off. They were immediately pursued by the Japanese, but a thick fog concealed them, and they reached their island in safety.

Impressed with the utter uncertainty of recovering our freedom with the consent of the Japanese, I began seriously to reflect on the possibility of flight as our only resource. I communicated my views to my companions; first to the officers, and then to the seamen. But how could such a scheme be executed? We could devise only one plan, and that a doubtful and uncertain one. On arriving at our night-quarters, the Japanese always consigned us to the care of two or three inhabitants of the village, who had scarcely any arms about them, and who usually seated themselves in the middle of the room, and entered into conversation with each other, without paying much attention to us. The soldiers themselves were accustomed to lay their sabres down in a particular spot, at a short distance from us, to undress and wash themselves in bathing tubs; and having thrown on their night dresses, they would stretch themselves before the fire to smoke tobacco. Fires were never kindled in our rooms till dusk. Two of the sailors, (Simanoff and Makaroff,) and myself, were so loosely bound, that we could with ease slip the ropes down from our elbows; and, as we were placed very closely together, we might, in the darkness of night, have freed our own hands, and likewise have liberated our companions, who were faster bound than

ourselves. This might have been done without difficulty; though our shoulders ached excessively, and our hands were much swollen. We had only to wait until we should arrive at some village on the coast where boats might be stationed, and when a smart breeze should be blowing from the land. We might then watch an opportunity for seizing the sabres of our guards, and hastening to the shore. So daring an attempt would have dismayed the Japanese; their well-known cowardice would have deprived them of presence of mind; and whilst they would be engaged in searching for their arms, we might reach a boat, and cut the ropes which fastened it to the shore. Before they could get on board their boats, the wind would probably drive us to some distance; and it even appeared doubtful whether they would venture to attack us in the open sea, particularly if it were in the slightest degree rough. We, therefore, hoped; assisted by the compass, with which the Japanese boats are always furnished, to reach the coast of Kamtschatka.

This project, however, did not appear altogether practicable: in the first place, we never might find a favourable opportunity for attempting it: secondly, the sailors might not all resolve, as we did, to prefer death to captivity, and in our situation we had no control over them. The Kuriles themselves, who, we observed, hated the Japanese, held out to us another means of escape. Many of these Kuriles, when unobserved by the Japanese, had given our sailors to understand, by signs, that they might loosen their ropes and escape into the woods; but whether they were inclined to assist us, or whether we were ourselves to break from our bondage, and seek safety by flight, we knew not. We could only make ourselves understood through Alexei, to whom we dared not com-

municate our design, lest he should betray us ; for owing to the ill-treatment which he declared his countrymen had experienced from the pelt-hunters, we had reason to suspect that he was much more partial to the Japanese than to the Russians. We, therefore, suspended our decision, but resolved to be on the watch for a favourable opportunity.

Meanwhile, the Japanese continued to treat us with increasing kindness. Alexei having informed them that the drawing which they found in the cask was executed by Mr. Moor, they earnestly requested that he would make a sketch of a Russian ship. He of course supposed he should only be required to make one drawing, and set to work with great alacrity, though he could merely obtain permission to have the ropes which bound his arms slackened in a very slight degree. When he had finished his task, the Japanese one after another requested that he would draw a ship for each of them. He was tormented by their importunities, and Mr. Chlebnikoff undertook to assist him. I being unable to draw, they requested me to write something upon their fans. They always solicited these favours very courteously, and entreated us to make sketches and inscriptions, not merely for themselves, but for their friends. They sometimes brought us ten or more fans at once, that we might inscribe upon them the Russian alphabet, or the Japanese alphabet with the corresponding Russian characters ; our numerals, names, a song, or anything we might fancy. They quickly observed that Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff wrote better than I, and consequently they never applied to me, except when those gentlemen were fully employed. Our sailors were likewise requested to write ; and the Japanese expressed surprise when they excused

themselves on the score of inability.\* They considered a specimen of Russian writing as great a curiosity as an inscription in Japanese would be looked upon in Europe, and they showed us a fan upon which were inscribed four lines of a popular Russian song, signed by a person named Babikoff, who, it appeared, had visited Japan along with Laxman. Though these lines must have been written twenty years before we saw them, yet the fan was as clean and fresh as if perfectly new. The owner kept it wrapped up in a sheet of paper, and set so much value upon it, that he would scarcely suffer it to be opened. In the course of our journey we must have made inscriptions on at least a hundred fans and sheets of paper for the Japanese. They never obliged us to write, but always requested us to do so with much politeness, and constantly thanked us by raising the writing to their foreheads and bending their bodies. In return, they usually gave us some refreshment, or presented us with tobacco for smoking.

When occasionally our hands were unbound, our guards were careful to hold our pipes for us whilst we smoked, fearing that we might by some means or other convert the

\* The Japanese use two kinds of characters in writing; one set of characters is the same as that used by the Chinese, in which every word is expressed by a distinct mark. The Japanese state, that they borrowed these hieroglyphics several thousand years ago from the Chinese, so that the name of any object, though pronounced quite differently in the Japanese and Chinese languages, is expressed by one and the same sign in both. This character is employed for works of the higher order, for official papers, and for the correspondence of persons of superior rank. The other Japanese alphabet, consisting of forty-eight letters, is made use of by the common people. Every Japanese, however low his rank, knows how to write in this last character. They were, therefore exceedingly astonished to find, that of four Russian sailors, not one should be able to write.



pipe into an instrument of suicide; but of this they soon became weary, and, after a consultation, they resolved to permit us to hold the pipes ourselves, on condition of our fastening to the mouth-pieces a wooden ball the size of a hen's egg. We were amused at this, and explained to them that it would be a much easier matter to choke ourselves with this ball than with the mere pipe. They then smiled at their own apprehensions, and told us, through Alexei, that their laws required that they should watch their prisoners strictly, and use every precaution to prevent them from committing self-destruction.

At every station at which we halted, we were requested to tell our names, our ages, how many relations we had, where our clothes had been manufactured, &c. Our answers were always set down in writing. They frequently requested the sailors, as well as the two officers and myself, to tell them Russian words and the names of various things, and they thus formed little vocabularies for themselves. This surprised me very much, and we suspected that they were not induced to question us so closely from mere curiosity, but that they had received orders to that effect from the government: we accordingly became more circumspect in our answers.

The 29th and 30th of July we spent in one place. We were at first told that they could not proceed, on account of the illness of some of the soldiers; but the commandant of the village afterwards informed us, that a deficiency of the requisite number of men prevented him from sending us forward, and that we should continue our journey as soon as he could obtain a reinforcement. From these different accounts we concluded that they were deceiving us, and that our delay was occasioned by some cause which they did not wish to explain. This proved to be the fact. Alexei learned from some Kuriles that the

place of abode in preparation for us at Chakodade, whither we were proceeding, was not yet completed, and that three officers\* had been dispatched from that city to meet us, and to give orders for stopping our march. These officers soon made their appearance, and informed us, that they had been sent to meet us by the governor of Chakodade, for the purpose of conducting us to that city, and seeing that we were provided with everything we stood in need of. The eldest officer, who was named Ja-Manda-Gooiso, showed great attention to us, and during the journey, constantly marched by our side. We now received food of a quality superior to that with which we had before been supplied. Gooiso assured us that when we reached Chakodade we should inhabit a fine house, which had been prepared for our reception; that we should enjoy our liberty, and be maintained in an expensive style; and that the most distinguished inhabitants of the place would seek our acquaintance, and invite us to their houses. But when we reflected that we were bound with ropes like criminals, we strongly suspected that Gooiso said all this only with a view to console us. Yet our guards informed us, that whenever any of their own most distinguished officers were arrested, they were always bound with ropes,† even before they were proved to be guilty. Gooiso treated us with so much kindness, that we felt inclined to place faith in what he said rather than in our own conclusions.

Besides our three new conductors, another individual

\* We at first supposed that these men were officers of some distinction; they, however, proved to be only privates, of that description of military which I call imperial soldiers, to distinguish them from the others.

† Binding with ropes is so common among the Japanese, that even the little boys in schools are punished for idleness and other offences by having their hands tied behind their backs for a certain time, according to the magnitude of the crime committed by the young culprits.

was added to our escort. He was an officer in the service of the Prince of Nambu ; and as a mark of distinction, a spear with a horse's tail was carried after him. All the rest treated him with the highest respect, and were entirely under his control. His whole duty appeared to consist in keeping a watchful eye over us. Our expenses were defrayed by the three imperial soldiers who had been sent to Chakodade to meet us. One of Gooiso's companions was a very intelligent young man, and treated us with the utmost attention and politeness. The other, however, who was a man advanced in life, seldom spoke to us, was seized with an immoderate fit of laughter whenever he looked upon us, and listened with great attention during our conversations with each other. From this last circumstance we concluded that he must have been one of those Japanese who had lived in Russia ; and as he probably understood our language, had been sent for the purpose of collecting information from our discourse. We were confirmed in this suspicion when we recollected, that in one of the villages at which we had stopped, the commandant's secretary privately informed us, that there were persons in Matsmai who understood Russian.

After Gooiso became our conductor we experienced very different treatment. When we made a halt, the sailors were not suffered to sit upon the same bench with us : our mats were considerably better than theirs ; and whenever the situation permitted it, the officers had a particular apartment assigned to them. With regard to our food, however, no difference whatever was observed.

As we were proceeding on our journey, on the 7th of August, we met an officer from Matsmai, who was on his way to Kunashier, whither he had been sent, to inquire into every circumstance relative to us. We supposed that the governor of Matsmai had dispatched this officer for



the purpose of ascertaining correctly all that had passed at Kunashier; and that, if our friendly intentions were made manifest, we might probably be removed to the Russian Kurile Islands that very summer; but our hopes proved unfounded. We were informed that we must proceed to the nearest village, where the officer wished to have an interview with us. He, however, soon changed his mind, and expressed a wish to hold the conference on the road. We found him seated in a little hut,\* accompanied by two other officers, and with some persons of his suite. We were directed to seat ourselves opposite to him, on a plank, which was supported by two logs of wood, and covered over with mats. He asked us our names and ages, and inquired whether we were in good health. All the questions and answers were written down by one of his officers, who acted as a secretary. He wished us a pleasant journey and desired us to proceed.

We now ascended an eminence, from the summit of which we beheld a vast plain, and the city of Chakodade at some distance before us. On descending the other side of this hill, we reached our night's quarters, the village of Onno, which was the largest, and, from its situation, by far the most beautiful of any that we had hitherto seen. It lies in the centre of a valley, which is about twenty-five or thirty wersts in circumference, and is surrounded on three of its sides by high hills, which shelter it against the cold winds. The harbour of Chakodade and the straits of Sangar lie to the south of the village. The valley is intersected by numerous rivulets and small streams. The village is, as it were, built within gardens, for every house is surrounded by a piece of cultivated

\* In all the Japanese territories, small cottages or huts are built on the highways, for the accommodation of travellers, at the distance of four or five wersts from each other.

ground, planted with kitchen roots and Oriental trees. Besides the culinary vegetables common in Europe, we also observed apple, pear, and peach trees ; and, in a regular order, hemp, tobacco, and rice. Onno is about seven wersts distant from Chakodade.

With regard to the extensive population of Japan, and the remarkable industry of the inhabitants, it may not be superfluous to observe, that during our journey, which comprised a distance of full one thousand and twenty wersts, along the coast, we beheld populous villages on every bay and creek we got sight of. During the summer, some of the people reside in leaf-huts, built between these villages. The whole population is employed in catching, salting, and drying fish ; they likewise gather a kind of sea-weed, which grows in great abundance on the coast, and which the Russians in these seas call sea-cabbage. This weed they spread out upon the sand to dry ; they then collect it together in heaps resembling haystacks, and cover it over with matting, until the time arrives for loading the vessels which carry it to the harbour of Nippon. Everything produced by the sea is considered eatable by the Japanese : fish, marine animals of every description, sea-plants, and weeds, are all used for food.

The boundary between the Kurile and Japanese villages is about one hundred and fifty or two hundred wersts distant from Chakodade. The two divisions are separated by a beautiful little stream, which, at the time of our arrival, was so swollen by heavy rains, that it was not without considerable difficulty we succeeded in fording it. The Kurile villages are generally small, consisting of huts without either kitchen gardens or orchards, and, upon the whole, they present an appearance of poverty. The only structures which deserve to be called houses are those inhabited by the Japanese civil and military officers ; they

are built in a neat style, kept clean, and have kitchen-gardens and orchards attached to them. The Japanese villages, on the other hand, present a very different aspect. They are large, have regular streets, and the houses, which are of wood,\* are very neatly built. Every house has a kitchen-garden, and to many, orchards are attached. The cleanliness which prevails in the streets and houses is truly astonishing. The inhabitants are extremely lively, and content and cheerfulness are painted on every countenance. The Matsmai Kuriles are generally tall and strongly made, very active, and far more handsome and manly than the Russian Kuriles, or those who inhabit Eetooroop, and Kunashier.

The Kuriles of Matsmai are a race distinct from the inhabitants of the other islands, and have a language of their own, which, though it contains many Kuriles, word is totally unintelligible to the other Kuriles. Alexei and the inhabitants of Kunashier and Eetooroop understood each other perfectly well, yet Alexei could not converse with the Matsmai Kuriles without the utmost difficulty, and he was frequently quite unable to comprehend their meaning. They must, however, have originally been one and the same people. This is sufficiently proved by the general similarity of their persons and customs, and the great number of words common to the languages of both.

On the morning of the 8th of August, our conductors made preparation for a formal entrance into the city. They put on new clothes, and armed themselves with coats of mail and helmets. Our breakfast was much better than usual, consisting of a fowl, excellently cooked

\* Wood is the only article used for building in Japan. The Japanese, however, declare that they can build with stone as well as other nations, but that they prefer wood, on account of the violent earthquakes to which their country is liable.



in a kind of green sauce, which is reckoned a great delicacy among the Japanese. We had no sooner finished our breakfast, than the Nambu soldiers, who had accompanied us from Kunashier, formally intimated through Alexei and their Kurile interpreter,\* that, to their great regret, they were compelled to conduct us into the city bound in the same manner as when we left Kunashier. They accordingly set to work without further preamble; but Gooiso, his companions, and the Nambu officer, who had recently joined us, opposed the tying of our hands behind us: the soldiers respectfully made their counter-representations, and a discussion ensued, which lasted upwards of a quarter of an hour. The soldiers frequently mentioned the governor of Kunashier, and apparently insisted on executing his commands, which were, that we should be conducted into Chakodade bound as we had left Kunashier. Gooiso immediately dispatched a messenger to Chakodade; and, after we had advanced two or three wersts beyond Onno, an order arrived for unbinding our hands, which was immediately obeyed. When we came within three wersts of the city, we halted, and stepped into a little hut, to wait for further orders respecting our entrance.

In the meanwhile a vast number of individuals, of both sexes, old and young, came from Chakodade, to see us. We observed several men on horseback in silken dresses, which, as well as the rich harnessing of their horses,

\* Whenever the Japanese had anything to communicate to us, the utmost pomp and ceremony were always observed. They seated themselves in a row, and placed us opposite to them, whilst their interpreter and Alexei were directed to kneel down on the ground between us. Silence was then proclaimed, and the eldest man among them began to discourse with the interpreter in a deliberate and low tone of voice. The interpreter then translated what he said to Alexei, who in his turn communicated it to us.



proved that they were persons of rank. In the afternoon the procession began to move with great pomp. Both sides of the road were crowded with spectators, yet every one behaved with the utmost decorum. I particularly marked their countenances, and never once observed a malicious look, or any signs of hostility, and none showed the least disposition to insult us by mockery and derision.

We at length entered the city, where the concourse of people was so immense, that our guards had great difficulty in clearing a passage for us. Having proceeded the distance of half a werst along a narrow street, we turned down a cross-street on our left, which led us into the open fields. Here, upon a rising ground, we first beheld the building that was destined to be our prison. The sight filled us with horror. We observed only the long roof; but that sufficiently enabled us to form a notion of the extent of the edifice. A high wooden enclosure or fence, of great strength, and well provided with *chevaux-de-frize*, concealed the body of the building. This wooden fence was surrounded by an earthen wall, somewhat lower, which on this occasion was hung with striped cloth. There was a guard-house near the gate, in which several officers were seated. Along the path leading to our prison, soldiers were stationed in full military uniform: they stood at the distance of two fathoms from each other, and were armed in various ways: some with muskets, some with bows and arrows, others with spears, &c. A party of officers were stationed in front of the building. On arriving at the gate we were received by an officer, to whom a list of our escort had previously been handed, and we were then conducted into a sort of court or yard. Here our future gloomy and horror-stirring domicile presented itself fully

to our view. It was a large dark building, resembling a barn, and within it were apartments formed of strong thick spars of wood, which, but for the difference of size, looked exactly like bird-cages.

The Japanese placed us in a row near the fence, and began to consult with each other as to the way in which they should dispose of us. We remained for half an hour in a state of fearful anxiety. At length Mr. Moor and I were asked which of the sailors we wished should remain with us. We were overjoyed at this question, and inquired whether Mr. Chlebnikoff might also be with us. But this the Japanese objected to, and informed us that they thought it improper to leave sailors without an officer, who would teach them, by his example and advice, to bear unavoidable misfortunes; adding, that the men might otherwise lose courage, and become the victims of despair. Upon this they conducted me, followed by Mr. Moor and Schkajeff, along one side of the building, the rest of our companions being conveyed round to the other side. We then apprehended that our separation was to be eternal.

I was led into a passage or lobby in the building, where my boots were drawn off, and the ropes with which I was bound removed. I was then directed to enter a small apartment, which was divided from the passage by wooden palisades. I now looked around me in quest of Mr. Moor and Schkajeff; but how great was my dismay to find that I could neither see nor hear them! The Japanese, without saying a word, closed the door of my apartment, and quitted the lobby, the door of which they likewise closed after them. I was now alone. The thought of being separated from my companions, and probably for ever, completely overpowered me, and, in a paroxysm of despair, I threw myself upon the ground.

## CHAPTER III.

Trait of benevolence—Sad situation of the prisoners, and wretched food provided for them—Interview with the governor of Chakodade—Description of the Audience Hall, and curious examination of the prisoners—Desire of the Japanese to learn Russian words—Writing on fans—Passion for collecting curiosities—Baggage and letter brought from the 'Diana'—Tedious interrogatories—Japanese curiosity and distrust—Mysterious missive—Rigorous laws—A comet visible—The prisoners removed from Chakodade to Matsmai.

I REMAINED for some time in a state of insensibility. At length, raising my eyes, I observed at the window a man, who beckoned me to approach him. I complied with his wish; and extending his hand through the railing, he presented me with two little sweet cakes; at the same time entreating me, by signs, to eat them quickly, as a punishment awaited him if he should be observed. At that moment I loathed the very sight of food; but I made an effort to eat the cakes, lest refusal might give offence to my kind visitor. His countenance now brightened up, and he left the window, with a promise to bring me more at a future time. I thanked him as well as I was able, and was greatly astonished that this man (who from his dress apparently belonged to the very lowest class) should be so far actuated by benevolence, as



to hazard his own safety for the sake of conveying comfort to an unfortunate stranger.

My guards now brought me some food ; but I felt not the least inclination to partake of it, and sent it all away. In this state I remained until evening. I sometimes threw myself on the floor, or upon a bench, and occasionally walked about the apartment, meditating on the means of effecting my escape. I attentively inspected the construction of my cage. It was six feet in length and breadth, and about eight feet in height. It was divided from the lobby by wooden palisades of tolerable thickness, and the door was fastened by a lock. On one side, near the door, was a small recess fitted up as a water-closet. There were two windows, both secured externally by strong wooden gratings, and in the inside furnished with paper screens, which I could open and shut at pleasure. One window faced the wall of a building about two feet distant from that in which I was confined, and the other looked to the southern side of the fence which surrounded our prison. From this window I had a view of the neighbouring hills and fields, part of the straits of Sangar, and the opposite coast. In the interior of the chamber stood a wooden bench, which, however, was so small, that I could not stretch myself upon it ; and three or four mats lay in one corner on the floor. The place contained no other furniture.

Having fully considered the situation of my prison, I was convinced, that with a common knife I could, in three hours, cut the grating which covered the window, through it get into the yard, and, favoured by the darkness of night, I might, observing the utmost caution, cross the wooden fence and the wall. But how was a knife to be procured, and even though I had succeeded in recovering my liberty, what could I have done alone ? My flight might

perhaps have induced the Japanese to wreak their vengeance on my unhappy companions. That reflection caused me to abandon every idea of attempting to escape alone.

At the approach of night the attendants brought me a new wadded cotton quilt, and a large wadded night-dress; but the latter was so old and dirty, that I declined putting it on, and I threw it into a corner. During the night, patrols hourly walked round the wooden hedge, making a noise like the sound of rattles;\* and the guards in the interior frequently came into the lobby with lights, apparently for the purpose of watching me.

Early in the morning, when all around me was silent, I suddenly heard the sound of voices discoursing in the Russian language. I instantly sprang from the bench on which I was lying, and ran to the window which looked towards the wall of the neighbouring building: there I distinctly heard Mr. Moor in conversation with Schkajeff. I was transported at this unexpected discovery, and thanked Heaven that my companions were not doomed to solitary imprisonment, but at least enjoyed the consolation arising from mutual condolence. I, moreover, hoped that we might, one time or other, gain an opportunity of communicating our designs to each other, and of escaping together. I burned with impatience to let them know that I was near them; but I feared lest the sound of my voice might give rise to suspicion. In the meanwhile, the soldiers and attendants began to move about the prison, and their noise prevented me from hearing anything further. One of my guards now brought me cold and warm water for washing. He suffered the door to

\* The Japanese sentinels strike the hours with two pieces of dry wood, which we at first mistook for rattles. The patrol passed close to the place where I slept, and announced the hours.

stand open whilst he remained with me; but as soon as I had finished washing, he went out and closed it after him. My breakfast was then sent in to me, but I was unable to eat.

About noon, an officer appeared in the lobby, bringing with him a new Kurile interpreter, a physician,\* (who was a man about fifty years of age), and Alexei. They discoursed with me through the palisades. The officer asked whether I was well; and pointing to the physician, said he had been sent by the governor of Matsmai for the express purpose of looking after our health. Whilst the Japanese were discoursing together, I had an opportunity of learning from Alexei that Mr. Chlebnikoff and Simanoff were shut up together, as were also Makaroff and Wassiljeff, but that he, like myself, was imprisoned alone. He added, that their dungeons were without windows, and excessively dirty. At twelve o'clock my dinner was brought in, but I refused it. The guard opened the door, muttered something to himself in ill-humour, and laying down the dinner, went out and closed the door behind him.

In the evening, the same officer returned with the interpreters, Kumaddschero and Alexei, and informed me that the governor of the city, fearing that time might hang heavily upon me, whilst I was alone, wished to know which of the sailors I should like to have with me. On my replying that I had no preference, he observed that I must make choice of one, since such was the wish of the governor. I then requested that they might be sent to

\* I afterwards learned that the name of the interpreter was Wechara Kumaddschero, and that of the physician Togo. I shall therefore call them by their names whenever I have in future occasion to mention them in the course of this Narrative.

me by turns, and that Makaroff might be permitted to come first. He was instantly conducted to me. I endeavoured to persuade Alexei to request that the Japanese would send him to keep company with Wassiljeff in Makaroff's absence; but this he refused to do, which made me somewhat doubt his good intentions towards us.

On this occasion, I learned that the officer who had visited me was a person of the highest rank in the city, next to the governor. I asked him whether the Japanese intended to keep us always separately confined? "No," answered he, "you will hereafter live together, and be sent back to your native country." "Shall we soon be confined in one place?" I continued. "Not very soon," replied he. The Japanese officer having withdrawn, I turned to Makaroff. He was much astonished at the superiority of my apartment, and viewed with joy the objects which were to be seen from the window: my dungeon appeared to him a paradise compared with those in which Mr. Chlebnikoff, Simanoff, Wassiljeff, and Alexei were confined. His description filled me with horror. He told me that they were shut up in small cages, built of thick wooden palings, which were placed near each other in the middle of a large room, so that there were passages on every side. Instead of doors, the only entrance to them was by small apertures, through which the prisoners were obliged to creep. Not a ray of the sun could penetrate these dismal cages, and, consequently, they were almost always in total darkness.

What I had heard from the Japanese officer, together with my conversation with Makaroff, in some measure contributed to relieve my mind, and in the evening I ate a little supper, which was the first food I had tasted in Chakodade. Here, however, our meals were much worse



than those with which we had been furnished on our journey.\* In the evening, our attendants brought us two round cushions, in form resembling our sofa-cushions, covered with cotton cloth, and stuffed with hemp.

On the morning of the 10th of August, the interpreter Kumaddscherō informed me, that the governor of the city had signified his wish to see me that day, and that we should all be required to appear before him in the afternoon. At the appointed hour, we were conducted one after the other into the yard of the prison. Here a rope was bound round each of our waists, the end of which was held by one of the Japanese; our hands, however, remained free. We were placed beside each other in a row. The officer who had been sent to conduct us was occupied for a quarter of an hour in arranging the procession, which, at length started in the following order.—First, two grey-haired men in the ordinary Japanese dress, bearing staves, to the ends of which lance-headed axes were affixed: they were followed by three Nambu soldiers with sabres in their girdles. I proceeded next, with an imperial soldier marching by my side, and a Japanese behind me, who held the rope with which I was bound; Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, the sailors, and Alexei, followed in the same order, and the procession was closed by three Nambu soldiers.

\* Our food in Chakodade was at first extremely bad. It usually consisted of boiled rice, a kind of soup made of warm water with grated radish; a few heads of garlic finely chopped with boiled beans; or instead of the garlic and beans, two pickled cucumbers or radishes. Instead of the radish soup, we sometimes had puddings made of bean-meal with rancid stock-fish or whale oil. Perhaps twice in the space of fifty days we were supplied with fish, receiving each the half of a kind of plaice (*Pleuronectes*), with soy. A meal was served up to us three times every day: in the morning at eight o'clock, at noon, and at four in the afternoon. Our drink usually consisted of warm water, and occasionally bad tea without sugar.

We were conducted, at a slow pace, through a long street, which extended from one end of the city to the other. The windows of the houses were crowded with spectators. Here we observed, for the first time, that all the houses had shops attached to them; and these shops were stocked with various kinds of merchandize. From this street we turned to the left, and ascended a rising ground, on which a castle was situated, surrounded by palisades and an earthen wall. We entered by a gate into a large court-yard, in the centre of which we observed a brass cannon, mounted on a two-wheeled carriage of very bad construction. A narrow path led us from this yard into another, where a party of imperial soldiers were stationed. They were seated on mats, and were armed with muskets and bows and arrows. We were then conducted into a space between two buildings, and directed to seat ourselves on a bench which was covered with matting: the sailors and Alexei seated themselves on mats spread out upon the ground: there we waited for a considerable time. In the meanwhile we were presented with pipes, excellent tobacco, and some fine green tea and brown sugar, with which we were regaled in the name of the governor of the town. This proved a great luxury to those among us who were fond of smoking, for since our arrival in Chakodade, neither pipes nor tobacco had been sent to us.\*

Here we had leisure and opportunity to converse with each other. Mr. Chlebnikoff described the place in which he was confined in a manner corresponding with the account I had previously received from Makaroff.

\* The guards who were appointed to watch over us in the prison, and who always stood close to the little cage in which Mr. Moor was confined, suffered that officer to smoke his pipes, which they handed to him through the palisades. They did not, however, venture to grant this privilege to any of the other prisoners.

Mr. Moor said he had an apartment similar to mine, with two windows, from which he had a view of several objects.

After waiting more than an hour, I was called into the adjoining building by my name,—CAPTAIN *Choworin*! (for so the Japanese pronounced my name.) Two soldiers, one on each side, conducted me through a large gate, (which was shut immediately after us,) into an extensive hall. Here I was delivered over to other soldiers. This hall resembled a shed, or barn, as one half of it had no ceiling; and instead of being planked, or paved, the ground was strewn with small stones. The other half of the floor rose three feet from the ground, and was covered with curiously wrought straw mats. The hall was from eight to ten fathoms long, of an equal breadth, and eighteen feet high. It was divided from the adjoining chambers by moveable screens, very neatly painted. There were only two or three apertures for windows, which had wooden frames, with paper instead of panes of glass, admitting an obscure, gloomy light. On the right side of that part where the floor was elevated, there hung against the wall, at the height of four feet, several kinds of irons for securing prisoners, ropes, and various instruments of punishment. Such were the ornaments of this hall; which, at first sight, I conceived to be a place of execution or torture. The governor sat on the floor, in the middle of the elevated platform; behind him were two secretaries, with paper and ink before them. On the left of the governor sat the officer nearest him in authority; and, on his right, the third in command; there was, besides, an officer of inferior rank on each side next to these commanders. They all sat at the distance of two paces from each other, with their legs folded under them. They were ✓ in the ordinary black dress of the Japanese, with daggers

in their girdles; but each had, also, a large sabre lying on his left side. Two sentinels, unarmed, sat one on each side, on planks, at the corners of the raised flooring. The interpreter, Kumaddschero, sat on its edge.

The soldiers who received me when I entered the hall conducted me to the front of the elevation, or platform I have described, and were about to make me sit down on the stones; but the commandant said something to them, and they allowed me to stand. Mr. Moor was next brought in, and placed on my right. Mr. Chlebnikoff followed, and was placed next to Mr. Moor.\* The sailors were then introduced one after the other, and placed in a row behind us. At last came Alexei, who was made to sit down in the same line with us, and near to Mr. Chlebnikoff.

When we were all in the order in which they wished us to be placed, the interpreter, by desire of the governor, pointed to him, and informed us that he was the chief person in authority in the town. We bowed to him, upon which he nodded his head, and cast down his eyes. These compliments being passed, he drew from his bosom a paper, to which he referred while he examined us. I was first asked my name and family name,† what was my rank, and to what country I belonged. Both secretaries

\* The Japanese reckon the left side superior to the right. We remarked their attention to this, in all cases, and were informed by themselves, that they considered that side the post of distinction; they could assign no reason for the preference.

† This question gave us not a little trouble. Alexei, who expressed himself very imperfectly in Russian, put the question in this form: "What tail has your name?" (In the Kurile language there is only one word for tail and ending.) We could not comprehend what he meant, until at last by a happy thought he explained his meaning by an example: "I am called 'Alexei,' said he, "but my name has the tail 'Maksimytch,' what 'Ytsch' have you got?" We had great difficulty with other questions, and often, after an hour's explanation with him, we remained just as wise as before we began.

- wrote down my answers. The same questions were put to Messrs. Moor, Chlebnikoff, and all the sailors in succession.
- Other questions followed in the same order; we were asked how old we were, whether our fathers and mothers were living, what was the name of the father of each of us, whether we had brothers and what number of them, whether we were married and had children, in what towns we were born, how many days' journey the places of our birth were distant from St. Petersburg, what was the business of each on board of the ship, what we did when on land, and whether the force then entrusted to us was great? All our answers were written down as before.

When we had answered the question respecting our birth-place, the Japanese asked how it happened that we should all serve on board the same ship, though we were from different towns? We replied that we did not serve the towns in which we were born, but the whole country and the Emperor, and that it was a matter of indifference to us whether we were employed on board the same or different ships, provided they belonged to Russia. The secretaries did not fail to note down this explanation also. The question which, according to Alexei's interpretation, related to the number of men we commanded on land, gave us, in the result, considerable trouble. The Japanese wished to know exactly how many men were under the orders of each of us. When we stated that the number was very different at different times, and depended on circumstances, they asked what rule was established with respect to these circumstances. To get over the difficulty, we made a comparison between our rank and the rank of the army, telling them that a major commanded a battalion, a captain a company, &c. We now believed the affair ended, but I shall have occasion hereafter to notice the vexation we experienced in consequence of these



answers. The next questions related to the names of our ships, their burthen, and the number of guns they carried. At length the governor desired to be informed whether some change of religion had not taken place in Russia, as Laxman wore a long tail, and had thick hair, which he covered all over with flour, whereas we had our hair cut quite short, and did not put any flour on our heads. On our telling them that with us there was no connexion between religion and the form of dressing the hair, they laughed loudly, and expressed no little surprise that there should be no law on that point; they, however, carefully wrote down our answer. Finally, they required that we would relate to them, and trace out on the chart, where we had been since our departure from St. Petersburg. For this purpose they produced a chart which had been drawn after the globe constructed by the Russian Academy, in the time of the Empress Catherine. I showed them our course, and then mentioned the chart which I had destined as a present for the Commandant of Kunashier, remarking that it was better than the one before me, and had part of our voyage marked upon it. The Japanese replied that they had received no chart from Kunashier, but that they would show it to us as soon as they received it; in the meantime the present chart would do for the information they wanted. They not only desired to know every direction in which we had shaped our course, and the period occupied in our navigation, but also the precise time we had spent at each place into which we had put. Our answers and explanations on this, as on all the former topics, were written down; the interpreter being always previously asked whether what we said was correctly translated. As our interpreter was far from being well versed in the languages which he had to explain, and the Japanese required the greatest precision in the answers to



their questions, this examination lasted several hours. At last the governor dismissed us, with the intimation that if it should be necessary, we would be brought there again, but that, in the meantime, we had no reason to be uneasy; we should be used well.

Twilight had set in when we left the castle, from which we were re-conducted in the same order as that in which we had arrived. The number of spectators, however, was much greater on our return, which perhaps was owing to the labours of the day being then finished. On entering our prison we were distributed as before, and to each was given, by order of the governor, a cotton night-dress and some sagi. During our absence, the Japanese had thrown the passages between Mr. Moor's place of imprisonment and mine into one, thus forming a space in the middle for the guard, from which a sentinel could see through the railings what either of us might be about. All hope of flight was thus annihilated, but, on the other hand, we obtained the advantage of communicating with each other. I spoke to Mr. Moor, but not in a direct way, for I turned towards Makaroff, and seemed to be addressing him. Mr. Moor did the same to Schkajeff. This singular mode of conversation lasted only a few days; for having an opportunity to ask the deputy-governor whether we might converse with each other, he replied: "Speak what you please, and as openly as you please." After this permission we might have talked freely, but we took care to say nothing that could be offensive to the Japanese, lest some person who understood Russian might be within hearing.

Eighteen days had elapsed since our first audience of the governor; and he had neither required us to attend again, nor intimated what was to be done with us. When we questioned the Japanese on these points, their usual

answer was, that they knew nothing of what was intended. During this interval we were regularly visited every morning and evening by the city officers or magistrates who happened to be on duty : they brought along with them the physician and the interpreter, and inquired respecting our health, and whether we wanted anything. Notwithstanding all this attention, the food with which they supplied us was very indifferent. They gave us chiefly a very insipid kind of soup, made of radishes. Mr. Moor was seized with a complaint in his breast, for which the physician ordered him to drink a decoction made from several roots and herbs. With respect to diet, he merely advised him to eat as much as possible of whatever was brought to him.

The Japanese physicians pay very little attention to the regimen of the sick, except to advise them to eat a great deal. The more the patient eats the greater hopes has the doctor ; for it is a maxim with these people that a good appetite is a certain sign of speedy recovery.

Mr. Moor seized the opportunity of his indisposition for remonstrating against his bad fare, and alleged that medicine could do no good with such food. Upon hearing this, the deputy-governor, whose name was Otachi-Koei, inquired what the Russians ate when they were sick. "Whatever the physician prescribes," replied Moor, "which is commonly broth made of fowls or chickens." Otachi-Koei then inquired very particularly in what way this broth was prepared by the Russians, observing, that the Japanese could cook it also. Mr. Moor described it very minutely, and the Japanese officer wrote down his description. It appeared, however, that this was done either from mere curiosity, or for sport, for the chicken broth was never after mentioned, and the old dish was still served up.

This officer was the only Japanese who jested with us.

He once promised us beef, butter and milk, as we told him that the Russians were fond of those things, but some days after he excused himself by saying, with a laugh, that the cows were grazing in the fields. Another time he gave us *sagi*, and expressed a wish that I would order the seamen to sing and dance, for, he said, when Laxman was in Japan he had seen a Russian dance, with which he was much pleased. I observed to him that in our miserable situation nothing could induce us to sing and dance; upon which he replied: "Right, right: in such circumstances the Japanese also would feel but little inclination to sing or dance."

Besides the orderly officers who visited us at fixed periods, the interpreter, Kumaddscheru, and the physician, Togo, usually spent about six hours in our company daily. They placed various objects before us, and asked the Russian names of them, which they wrote down each in a separate vocabulary. When the one was with us, the other was with Mr. Chlebnikoff. The physician possessed considerable knowledge in geography: he had a very fine globe, made in imitation of a European one, and several manuscript maps of the Japanese possessions, which he often showed us. He explained everything respecting which we asked for information, and added his own personal observations on the places that were known to him. The chief trouble we experienced from both officers and soldiers, who did duty as guards, arose from their requests to write on their fans and pieces of paper; but as they always solicited the favour with great courtesy, and invariably returned thanks with very humble reverences, we never refused it. Some, however, imposed so far on our complaisance as to bring us ten or twenty fans at a time. These tedious labours fell chiefly on Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, as their hand-writing was very fine.

The former wrote more than seventy sheets of paper for one of the soldiers ; and from their unceasing applications, we at length concluded that they must have sold these manuscripts as articles worthy of being preserved in the cabinets of the curious.\* This task was the more laborious, as the officers were always desired to give a translation of what was written. When we translated anything for them, they carried it to Mr. Chlebnikoff, to compare his translation with ours ; and if he wrote anything, they brought it for the same reason to us. In this way Chlebnikoff once became involved in an embarrassment of no slight nature. One of the officers had, for the third time, asked me to write him something in Russian. In the irritation of the moment I wrote the following words: "The Russians who may hereafter come in force to this place are hereby informed that the Japanese, in a treacherous and cowardly manner, seized seven of their countrymen ; and, without any cause, imprisoned and kept them languishing in dungeons, like the vilest criminals. These unfortunate Russians implore you to take a just vengeance on this faithless people." When the officer asked what this piece of writing meant, I told him it was a Russian song, and desired him to show it to the next Russians who might come there. He went immediately with it to Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was at first greatly puzzled what to say ; but at last thought of telling him that it was a very old song, which could not be easily translated, and thus got over the difficulty.

\* The Japanese are great lovers of curiosities ; and to collect whatever they consider such is quite a passion with them. Each of our guards showed us something which he considered valuable as a rarity. Some of them kept, rolled up in several folds of paper, knives, which they had received from Laxman's seamen ; others preserved, in the same manner, pieces of our copper money, buttons, shells, stones, &c.

On the 25th of August, Otachi-Koeiki, the deputy-commandant, whom we now saw seldom, and only on extraordinary occasions, came to us, followed by a numerous retinue, and caused mats to be spread in the passage before my apartment. I waited with impatience to see what was to follow. At last, four or five men appeared, bearing on their shoulders my chest, which used to stand in the cabin of our vessel, together with the portmanteaus of Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, and some bundles. I was thunder-struck at the sight of these things. How could the Japanese have got possession of them? Had they taken the 'Diana,' or had she been wrecked on the coast? With much effort, and in broken accents, I answered their questions respecting the ownership of these articles. We, however, soon learned that the 'Diana' had sent them on shore before leaving Kunashier. That information tranquillized me. Now, thought I, my companions will return to Russia, and our fate will not remain unknown.

After the Japanese had written down what I said respecting these things, they proceeded to question my companions. The articles consisted of some clothes and linen, which my successor in command, Lieutenant Rikord, thought it necessary to send on shore, and which ultimately proved of great use to us, though at first the Japanese would not deliver any of them.

This day was doubly memorable to me: first, on account of the great surprise and alarm which the appearance of our baggage occasioned; and secondly, because the want of paper and ink, or anything by which I could make notes, induced me to fall on the following singular method of keeping a journal. When anything happened that was agreeable to us, I tied a knot on a white thread, which I drew out of the frill of my shirt: when any unpleasant event occurred, I made a memorandum of it by

tying a knot on a thread of black silk, taken out of my neck-handkerchief. With regard to other circumstances which, though remarkable, had occasioned us neither joy nor sorrow, I recorded them on a thread of green silk, which I abstracted from the lining of my uniform coat. Often did I count over these knots, and recall to my mind the events they served to denote.

About this time the soldiers told Mr. Moor, as a secret, that we should not remain much longer in Chakodade, This appeared very improbable; as from everything we had observed, we felt persuaded that we were likely to continue a long time in our present quarters. In the first place, the Japanese had given us new wadded night-gowns, of the kind which they use for sleeping in, as they have no coverlets. Secondly, we had learned that soon after our arrival, they had constructed sentry boxes at different parts of the fence which surrounded our prison, and had besides made several changes in the internal arrangements of the building.

On the morning of the 28th of August, we were, for the second time, carried before the governor, in the same order and in the same manner as on the former occasion. We were seated in the same place in the castle, and conducted, as before, into the court hall. The number of the officers was the same, except that the governor was not seated when we first entered; but in about ten minutes after he came forth from behind a screen. After he had taken his place, he drew some sheets of manuscript from his bosom, and laid them before him. Having read over our names, he ordered the interpreter to acquaint us that our former examination had been sent to the Viceroy or Governor of Matsmai,\* who had given orders for the

\* As this officer commanded the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, his rank seemed to correspond with that of the governor of a province in Europe.



strict investigation of our case. It was therefore required that we should circumstantially and truly answer all questions that might now be put to us, and neither conceal nor misrepresent anything whatever. We replied that we had no reason to conceal anything, and would readily give every information required.

The questions were chiefly a repetition of the former, but they were put with so little regard to order or connection that we could with great difficulty recollect the manner in which they followed each other. There were besides so many new questions, and they were altogether so numerous, that it was impossible to retain them, as we had no ink and paper wherewith to make memoranda. Most of these queries related to the conduct of Resanoff, on his return from Japan, and the attacks made by Chwostoff's ships on their villages. In our answers we described Resanoff's arrival at Kamtschatka, his subsequent voyage to the American Company's factories and California, his return to Okotzk, and his death at Krasnojarsk, on his way to St. Petersburg.

It was evidently suspected that some of our party had been attached to Resanoff's expedition, or had at least been in Kamtschatka at the period of its departure. We were accordingly questioned with the utmost minuteness respecting our voyage from Cronstadt to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the time of our arrival there was compared with the period at which the Japanese coasts had been plundered. From what fell from them, they seemed likewise to suspect that we had not sailed from Petersburg until after Resanoff had arrived there, and had informed the Russian government of the failure of the embassy. They

The Japanese, when they spoke with reverence of him, called him "Obunyo," or more commonly "Bunyo," or "Bunyosso."

enquired for what reason we had been sent to so distant a place; and asked many questions which appeared to us extremely ludicrous, considering the advanced state of the science of navigation in Europe; such as, how could we possibly remain so long at sea, without getting a fresh supply of provisions, wood and water from some harbour—how the Russians could build such large vessels, in which they were enabled to sail about in the open ocean for so long a time—for what reason had we cannon and arms on board with us—why we sailed in the middle of the ocean instead of steering along the coast from St. Petersburg to Kamtschatka. The real object of our mission, namely, the survey and description of unknown coasts, as I have before observed, we thought it prudent to conceal, in order to avoid creating suspicion. We said therefore, that we were proceeding to Kamtschatka with government stores, which were wanted at that place.

Whilst they were thus interrogating us respecting our voyage, they did not fail to enquire, under the semblance of mere curiosity, the distances between Kamtschatka and Okotzk, Okotzk and Irkutsk, and Irkutsk and St. Petersburg; and what time the post or travellers usually occupied in proceeding from one place to the other. But we plainly perceived that the real object of all their enquiries was to ascertain whether Resanoff had arrived at St. Petersburg before our departure. For the same motive they questioned us respecting the return of the vessel in which Resanoff had come to Japan, and whether it was true that it sailed back to St. Petersburg without him, and that he had remained in Kamtschatka, and gone in another ship to America.

In consequence of the smallness of the territory of Japan, and its separation from the rest of the world, every communication with foreigners interests the whole country,

and is regarded as a great and important event, which ought to be handed down to posterity. The Japanese were, therefore, of opinion that not only Russia, but all Europe, must be informed of the attack of Chwostoff. For this reason, they did not credit what we told them ; and insinuated that we could, if we pleased, give them more minute information concerning the property that had been taken from them, their countrymen who were carried off, &c. Their doubts and extraordinary questions so irritated us, that we sometimes asked them how they could suppose, that an insignificant spot like Japan, the existence of which was not even known to many of the inhabitants of Europe, could engross the attention of every enlightened nation ; or that each minute circumstance attending the plundering of a few of their villages by two obscure merchant vessels must necessarily be well known ; adding, that they ought to be satisfied with our assurance, that the attack was made upon them contrary to the will of the Emperor. At this they usually laughed, instead of feeling in the least offended. These people are endowed with a most extraordinary degree of patience. Every question was twice or thrice repeated, and the interpreter was incessantly desired to note everything down with the utmost exactness : indeed, they were frequently occupied for more than an hour about a single question. But they never testified the slightest dissatisfaction ; and as usual, by way of relaxation, frequently put questions of an apparently trivial nature ; such, for example, as, " Whose office is it on board the Russian vessels to foretel the state of the wind and weather ?" When we replied, that this task was not allotted to any particular officer, but that it was part of the duty of the commander of the ship, they were not a little astonished ; for, with them

a boat never puts to sea without having a weather prophet on board.

Our examination lasted until evening : we were, however, permitted to partake of refreshments at two different times. Our repasts which were brought to us by our attendants, and consisted of boiled rice, and herrings dried in the open air ; and, by way of dessert, a teacup full of *sagi*, which is the wine of the Japanese. We were likewise regaled with tobacco for smoking, and tea with sugar, which in Japan is regarded as a high luxury. In the evening we quitted the castle, and returned to our prison, where we found everything just as we had left it.

On the following morning, the 29th of August, we were again conducted into the presence of the governor, being escorted and introduced in exactly the same form as before. When we had entered the hall and the governor had taken his place, he drew from his bosom several pieces of paper, which he delivered to Otachi-Koeki ; the latter handed them to the officers who were sitting near him, and they gave them to Kumaddschero, who unfolded one of them, and, by order of the commander, gave it to us to read. We immediately cast our eyes on the signatures of the officers whom we had left behind us on board the 'Diana.' This unexpected sight plunged us into the deepest distress. We concluded that this letter was perhaps the last farewell of friends with whom we had served so long, and whom we should probably never see again. Mr. Moor was most deeply affected ; he threw himself upon his knees, pressed the letter to his lips and wept bitterly. The Japanese observed us with great attention : they scarcely ever turned their eyes from us ; and all, except Otachi-Koeki, seemed greatly moved. Some even shed tears, which they endeavoured to conceal ; but Otachi-

Koeki laughed at our emotion. The contents of the letter were as follows :

“ Heaven knows whether these lines will ever reach you, or whether you are yet in existence.—At first, all the officers on board resolved to adopt pacific measures to obtain your liberation ; but whilst we were deliberating on what course to pursue, a ball passed over us, and fell into the water, at a considerable distance astern of the sloop. I immediately gave orders to return the fire of the castle. But what was to be done ? How were we to act ? Our guns were so light that they could be of little service to us ; the shallowness of the water prevented us from approaching nearer the shore, and the small number of our crew precluded all idea of landing. We, therefore, wish to inform you that we have adopted the last resource. We will sail back to Okotzk, and if the number of our crew be increased, will return, and never quit the coasts of Japan until we have obtained your liberation, or sacrificed our lives for our beloved captain and faithful friends. Should the Japanese permit you to answer this letter, pray write to us. We are bound to obey all the orders of our commander. Every man on board the sloop is ready to lay down his life for your sake.”

“ Until death,

“ Your’s faithfully,

“ PETER RIKORD,

“ ILJA RUDAKOFF, &c.”

July 11, 1811.

After we read this letter, the Japanese desired us to translate it. We complied with their order, though we judged it prudent not to give a faithful explanation of many of the passages it contained. Our translation represented the firing of the sloop merely as an act of

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self-defence, and not done with a view to injure the Japanese, who had fired from their castle. The small calibre of the guns we construed into a deficiency of shot; and we made it appear that the idea of landing proceeded merely from a wish to surround us, and prevent the Japanese from carrying us off, but that for this purpose there were too few men on board the sloop. Instead of saying anything about obtaining a reinforcement at Okotzk, we explained that part of the letter by saying, that our friends had returned to request permission to proceed against the Japanese, as they could not attack them without the consent of the Russian Government.

Upwards of an hour elapsed before we could render everything clear and satisfactory. They then asked me what answer I should send to that letter, provided I were permitted to write. I replied, that I should advise the officers on board the sloop not to proceed to any act of violence, but to return immediately to Russia, to inform our government of the circumstance.

As the letter furnished no ground for further interrogatories, they proceeded to other subjects, many of which had been discussed at large on the preceding day.

They, however, expressed a wish that we should relate to them in succession every circumstance which had occurred to us from the time of our first communication with their countrymen on the island of Eetoorop, to the moment when we were made prisoners at Kunashier. On this occasion we observed the dissimulation of the Japanese: they pretended that all we said was entirely new to them, and they affected particular surprise that the commander of Kunashier should not immediately have returned the cask and the goods which were sent ashore. They asked whither we were sailing when we experienced



a want of provisions, and required us to point out the spot upon the map. We complied with their wish, and explained the object of our voyage in a way corresponding with what we had previously stated.

They asked several questions concerning the inhabitants of Denmark, England, and other countries which we had visited: enquired in what parts of Russia ships were built; what kind of wood was used in constructing them; and how quickly they could be completed, &c. Under pretence of mere curiosity, they asked us the extent of our land and sea forces. We thought it advisable to give an exaggerated account of both. We increased the number of fortresses and the amount of garrisons in Siberia, and distributed at pleasure numerous fleets in the harbours of the coast of Okotzk, in Kamtschatka, and on the north-western coast of America. Among other things, we accidentally said that there was a considerable naval force in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul; and when the Japanese enquired how many ships were there, unfortunately for ourselves, as will hereafter appear, we fixed upon the number seven.

The conference lasted until evening. We were frequently taken out of the hall for relaxation or refreshment; and *sagi*, tobacco, and tea, were brought into the court-yard to us. In the evening we were re-conducted to the place of our confinement, with the usual ceremonies.

On the two following days we underwent no examination; but we observed that the Japanese treated us much more kindly than before. They provided the sailors with warm water, and permitted them to wash their own and our linen in the lobby. This was no inconsiderable indulgence; for since the first day of our imprisonment, the attendants had only once washed our shirts, and that without soap. We were allowed to have several articles from the trunks which had been sent ashore, and

at our request the sailors were furnished with a change of linen. A large tub was filled with warm water, in which we were directed to wash our hands and faces.\* Several of the orderly officers, by whom we were visited at certain hours, regaled us with good tea, sugar, fruit, sagi, &c. One in particular, named Ossagava-Rakaemo, was extremely kind, and never quitted us without saying something consolatory, and even giving us a present. We afterwards learned that his brother had been lost on board of a vessel some time before. The idea that he might probably be doomed to suffer a fate similar to ours, in some distant land, induced him to sympathize with us, and pay particular attention to our wants.

Notwithstanding all this good fortune, we, however, learned a piece of news, which again plunged us into despair. On the morning of the 31st of August, during the usual visit of the orderly officers, the physician, and interpreter, the latter said something to Mr. Moor which I did not distinctly understand, and at the same time delivered a paper to him. Mr. Moor glanced over the paper, laughed, and said it was all a fraud; but, immediately turning to me, he exclaimed, in a faltering voice, and with great agitation, "Wassily Michailovitsch! hear this," and then he read as follows:—

\* The tub was extremely large, and the water was heated by means of a copper pipe, communicating with a kind of stove. I washed first, and the rest were obliged to make use of the same water. This was not a little annoying. We looked upon such treatment as below what was due even to common criminals. We were, however, soon set at ease on this particular; for, to our great astonishment, after we had all finished washing, some of the imperial soldiers, by whom we were guarded, very contentedly followed our example, and washed themselves in the same water. These soldiers, as I have before observed, are held in the utmost respect in Japan. It is, therefore, evident, that the Japanese entertain no disgust or horror of Christians; and do not, like other Asiatics, regard them as unclean.

"In the year 1806, the 12th (24) of October, Lieutenant Chwostoff, commander of the frigate 'Juno,' distributed to the chief of the villages on the western coast of the Bay of Aniva a silver medal and ribbon of Wladimir, as a token of the Russian Emperor, Alexander I. having taken possession of the Island of Sagaleen, and placed its inhabitants under his gracious protection.—I therefore request the commanders of all vessels, either Russian or foreign, which may hereafter visit Japan, to regard the said chief as a Russian subject.

(Signed)

"CHWOSTOFF.

"Lieutenant of the Russian Fleet."\*

Our embarrassment may easily be conceived. How could we now hope that the Japanese would give credit to anything we told them? They could not conceive it possible that Chwostoff had presumed to issue this proclamation on his own authority, and they were convinced that he must have acted in fulfilment of the orders of his sovereign. In consequence, they could regard us only as spies, who wished to impose on their credulity, by attributing the attack made upon them to the mere hardihood of the commander of a private ship, while our real object was to reconnoitre their coasts and garrisons.

Though this unexpected occurrence threw us into perplexity, yet we did not lose courage. We asked how it could be supposed that the monarch of a great and powerful empire like Russia, should send a handful of men to burn and pillage villages for the sake of obtaining dominion over a desert country like that on the western coast of the Bay of Aniva. To suppose this, would be no less ridiculous than to lay to the charge of the Emperor of Japan any similar proceedings which might be com-

\* Some flags were sketched on the paper at the foot of this proclamation.

mitted by Japanese vessels on our Kurile Islands. Our interrogators listened to our explanation with the utmost attention: and answered "yes" to all our observations. They, however, seemed to smile within themselves, and to place but little reliance on anything we said.

We were suffered to depart; but on the following morning, the 1st of September, we were again carried before the governor with the usual ceremony. It rained, and attendants walked by the side of each of us, holding umbrellas over our heads.

This was a mark of attention which the Japanese never failed to observe whenever they brought us out in rainy weather. We were again interrogated concerning Chwostoff's proclamation and the medals he had distributed, and our explanation was the same as that which we had given on the preceding day. They inquired what was meant by the drawings of flags, which were made at the bottom of the letter. We replied that one of those drawings represented the flag borne by imperial ships of war, and that the other was merely the flag of a merchant vessel: for what reason they had been sketched on the paper in question we knew not, but we supposed that Chwostoff wished by this means to mark the difference between a Russian ship of war and a merchantman. The Japanese, however, entertained a very different opinion: they asked us whether both the flags were not borne by imperial vessels, and whether the one was not hoisted to indicate hostile intentions, and the other to show that a vessel was proceeding for the purpose of trade. We assured them that in Europe ships of war were never in the habit of trading. The notion that trade was carried on by European ships of war was not at all surprising, for in Japan all foreign trade with the Dutch, Chinese, Coreans, and the inhabitants of the Likeo Islands, is mono-

polized by the Emperor. He purchases all the goods which arrive at Japan, sends them in his ships to the different harbours of his territories, and sells the cargoes either in lots, or in the gross, to the local merchant. ✓

During their enquiries respecting Chwostoff's proclamation, the Japanese frequently asked us questions on other particulars; and evinced great consternation respecting two small copper-plates which we had left behind us at Eetooroop and Kunashier. On the former island, we gave one of these plates to the Japanese commander himself, and we left the other behind us in a village in Kunashier. On these plates was the following Latin inscription, as also the same in Russian :

"Navis. Imperialis. Russica. 'Diana.'  
An. Dom. 1811."

We stated that we left these tablets upon every island that we passed through, even on those which were uninhabited. In the latter places we hung them upon the trees, that, in case of shipwreck, it might be known where we had been, and, consequently, near what place the disaster had occurred; but the Japanese were far from being satisfied with this story. In the first place, they wished to know the meaning of the inscription, and required that we should explain every individual word, each of which they set down as we translated it, hoping by this means to detect us in some inconsistency. They then observed, that they had heard from the Dutch, in Nangasaky, that Europeans left such tablets on islands which they wished to subject to their dominion, and enquired whether we entertained that intention. We replied, that in such a case, Europeans would use a very different inscription; but this did not seem to satisfy them: we plainly saw that they did not believe us, and that they even doubted

whether we had given them a correct translation of the inscription.

The whole day was occupied in examining us concerning Chwostoff's proclamation and our tablets. According to custom, they put many ridiculous questions to us; such as, how many ships of war and merchantmen are there in Russia, and the whole of Europe; what number of harbours are there in Russia, and in other countries. It was late in the evening when we were sent back to our place of confinement.

When we were conducted from the Hall of Justice into the court-yard, for the purpose of partaking of refreshment, we found opportunities of discoursing and communicating our thoughts to each other. We looked upon it as next to impossible to make it appear that Chwostoff's proclamation was a spurious document. The Japanese, of course, could only look upon us as spies; and, in that case, death, or what was still more dreadful, eternal captivity awaited us. Flight was our only resource: but how was that to be effected? We were confined separately; and, therefore, could not escape together. In our despair, we often contemplated the possibility of forcing our way through the guard, which conducted us in the evening from the castle; but, besides our strong escort, we were always surrounded by a multitude of spectators, so immense, that all chance of escape was hopeless. There remained, then, no alternative but to wait until we should be all confined together, and then to deliberate in concert on the means of our deliverance.

Two or three days afterwards, while the civil officer, the physician and the interpreter were paying their usual morning visit to Mr. Moor, and asking questions respecting Russian words, Alexei walked several times through the passage, close to the palisades of my apart-

ment, looked at me, then at the Japanese attendants, and appeared to have some secret to communicate to me. When I spoke to him, he did not answer. At last, seizing a favourable opportunity, he cast some paper, rolled up, through the palisades. I immediately placed my foot upon it, and remained standing in that position till the Japanese left us. On taking it up, I found wrapped up within several pieces of paper, an iron nail and a card, on which some words had been scratched with the nail. The writing was by Mr. Chlebnikoff; but, though it consisted of several lines, I could only make out the following words:—

“God—hope—the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik, Lamakin—Alexei, the Kurile—be cautious”—and a few others. I could not comprehend what this meant; and in the evening, when Alexei again came to us, I asked him to help me to make out the words on the card, which I could not decipher. “You will soon know all,” replied he, and immediately departed, leaving me in a state of painful uncertainty. I communicated everything to Mr. Moor, but could not gain an opportunity of sending the card to him. He, like myself, was unable to comprehend what part the Isprawnik, Lamakin, was playing in our affairs.

On the 4th of September, we were again conducted to the castle. We had to wait in the court-yard until the governor gave orders for our entrance; and, in the meanwhile, we were indulged with permission to smoke tobacco. Here we had an opportunity of conversing together; and Mr. Chlebnikoff communicated to us a secret, with which Alexei had acquainted him. He told us, that Alexei, and some of his countrymen, had, about a year before, been seized by the Japanese; and, on being asked for what reason they had visited Japan, instead of the romantic story they had related to us on



board the 'Diana,' the Kuriles replied, that they had been sent by the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik, to inspect the Japanese villages and garrisons. When asked what was the object of their examination, they answered, that in the following year\* seven vessels† from the harbour of Petropaulowskoi would visit the Japanese Islands, four proceeding to Matsmai, and three to Eetooroop, with the same design with which Chwostoff had approached them. The Kuriles said this with the view of averting danger from themselves, by making the Japanese believe that they had been forced to come among them by the Russians; and Alexei had entreated Mr. Chlebnikoff to persuade us to declare that they had really been dispatched by Lamakin.

Our situation became more and more embarrassing. The arrival of the Kuriles for the purpose of converting Japanese subjects to the Christian faith, Chwostoff's attack, the medals and proclamations, and, finally, the declaration of the Kuriles, all tended to convince the Japanese that we sought to deceive them. Alexei too might bear the most formidable evidence against us. I have already observed, that he wished us to confirm the tale he and his countrymen had invented; that is to say, to criminate ourselves and do all we could to justify him. We were persuaded that he would insist on the truth of his assertion, and endeavour, by all the means in his power, to fix the offence on us. But to have apparently assented to his request would have emboldened him; and knowing that a severe punishment awaited him on

\* The very period at which we approached the coasts of Japan, as it were in confirmation of the prediction of the Kuriles.

† The reader will recollect, that chance led us to fix upon the number seven when we were questioned concerning the number of vessels in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul.

his return to Russia, he would, of course, place every obstacle in the way of our liberation. Besides, we could not, for evident reasons, consent to bear testimony to the truth of his false declaration; we therefore told him, in as gentle a manner as possible, that we could in no way comply with his wish; and that all solicitation for that purpose would be fruitless. To this he made no reply, and we now began to regard him as a dangerous and irreconcilable enemy.

When we were again conducted into the presence of the governor, he asked whether it was true that the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik had sent Kuriles to inspect the Japanese villages and fortifications. We replied that we had never heard of such a proceeding, and that we looked upon it as impossible; upon which our interrogators addressed themselves to Alexei, but we could neither understand their questions nor his answers. After having asked us many trifling questions, they conducted us back to our prison. Alexei, however, was detained, and remained a long time behind us. When he at length joined us in the prison, we asked him about what the Japanese had been discoursing with him; he answered drily: "About my old affair." After this, he was twice conducted alone to the presence of the governor; but he always refused to tell us what passed.

Among a number of trivial questions which were put to us in our last examination, I will mention one, as it led to an explanation which shows the severe character of Japanese morality and the strictness of their laws. They asked us why we had carried off wood and rice from the coast without the consent of the owners of those articles. We replied, that they had doubtless been informed, by the report of the Commandant of Kunashier, that we had employed every means of making ourselves

understood; he, however, had ordered all the troops to retire into the garrison; the villages on the coast were deserted, and whenever we attempted to approach the castle, cannon were fired upon us. The hope which the letter of the Japanese officer at Eetooroop afforded of obtaining through it a supply of every article we stood in need of, induced us to neglect sailing back to the Russian coast, which we should have immediately done, had we not received that letter. During the long period our vessel had remained at sea, our stock of provisions had become exhausted; and for this reason, having no further object in holding intercourse with the Japanese, we carried off a small quantity of rice and wood, in payment for which we left various European articles behind us: that we had moreover deposited silver coins in the cask; and that when a correspondence was opened on the part of the Japanese, we ourselves proceeded to the castle to pay such price as they might fix upon the articles we had carried away. We were now asked, whether any law existed in Europe, which, under such circumstances, would authorise us to seize the property of strangers. I replied, that there was indeed no particular law to that effect; but that if a man in a state of starvation chanced to meet with deserted habitations, and took from thence what was necessary to support his existence, he would not be declared guilty under any European law; particularly if he left behind him articles equal in value to those which he took away. With us, replied the Japanese, it is very different: our laws ordain that a man must sooner die of hunger, than touch, without the consent of the owner, a single grain of rice which does not belong to him.

To the honour of the Japanese, I must observe that they always questioned us with the utmost civility and politeness. They frequently laughed with an air of good

humour, and endeavoured to render our examinations more like discourse between intimate friends than formal and official investigations.

On the 5th of September, we were conducted to the Governor of Chakodade, for the last time. We sat a long time in the court-yard, drinking tea and smoking tobacco. The interpreter, Kumaddscherro, went continually backwards and forwards, asking us Russian words, which he wrote down. We were at length conducted into the hall. Here one of the officers, a grey-haired man, apparently about seventy years of age, who in Laxman's time had been employed in compiling a Russian dictionary, unrolled a large sheet of paper, filled with Japanese characters, which he began to read in a style very much resembling singing. We were totally unable to comprehend the first ten or twenty words; but we at length discovered that he fancied he was reading Russian, and from some of the words we conjectured that the paper contained an account of our affair, translated into Russian. We could not refrain from laughing, and told the Japanese that we understood only a few words here and there: upon which they all joined in the laugh, not excepting the translator, who laid the paper aside. The governor then took leave of us, and we left the castle.

Our guards continued to treat us with increasing kindness. They several times permitted Mr. Moor to go out of his chamber for the purpose of warming himself at the fire in the lobby.\* On these occasions, he sometimes stepped up to my palisades, when we found an opportunity of making communications to each other, which,

\* At the latter end of August the mornings and evenings were extremely cold. Mr. Moor, who was unwell, complained of chilliness; and the Japanese, every morning and evening, kindled a fire in a moveable grate, which stood in the lobby opposite to his cage.

however, we could not utter aloud, as several of our guards, who had been in Russia, understood something of our language. With respect to our food, it was no better than before, and we many times sent it away without tasting it. One day, Mr. Moor made an effort to speak Japanese to Kumaddschero, and told him that we had been treated like dogs: he contrived to make himself intelligible. Kumaddschero replied that he ought not to vex himself on that head, and at the same time advised him to speak with more caution in future; observing that if his complaint had been heard by any except himself, it might have been attended with serious consequences.

In the meanwhile we continued in the utmost uncertainty as to the way in which the Japanese Government might regard our answers and declarations, and how it was intended to dispose of us. A severe destiny seemed indeed to await us; for celestial phenomena conspired with an unfortunate concurrence of earthly events to produce unfavourable impressions against us. About this time a comet made its appearance. We wished to know whether the Japanese had any notion of the nature of that heavenly body, and put some questions to them on the subject. From the answers of those with whom we conversed, it was evident that they knew nothing about comets, except that they were seldom visible. We then wished to ascertain whether the Japanese, like other Asiatic nations, regarded comets as the usual forerunners of unfortunate events; for, had this been the case, their superstition might possibly have had favourable consequences for us. They might have regarded the comet as the harbinger of Heaven's vengeance for their unjust and cruel treatment of us; but when we enquired whether they did not regard these luminaries as prognosticating certain events, they replied, to our no small mortification,

that in the same year (1807) in which Chwostoff had visited them, a comet, similar to that which appeared on our arrival, was visible in the heavens.

On the 13th of September, the officer next in rank to the governor told us that he had received orders, on the approach of the cold weather, to provide us with some warm clothing from the trunks which had been sent on shore from the sloop at Kunashier. He asked us what we were accustomed to wear. At my request, I was immediately furnished with my mantle, a warm waistcoat, a shirt, a cap, some stockings, and pocket-handkerchiefs; and my companions received whatever articles they required.

I have already observed, that the sailors were allowed to be with us by turns. On the 31st of August, Wassiljeff was sent to Mr. Moor, and Schkajeff was shut up alone; but on the 23rd of September, Makaroff, who had before been with me, was relieved by Schkajeff. The latter communicated to me two unexpected pieces of information. First, that Simanoff, through some oversight of the Japanese, had gained possession of a large knife. It appeared that he had fastened this knife, by a leather strap, to one of the button-holes of his jacket, which is a custom among our sailors, lest they should lose their knives when using them on the masts or yards. This jacket had been sent from the sloop, and was given to him, although the strap could scarcely fail to be noticed. We were much astonished that it should have escaped the rigid and circumspect vigilance of the Japanese; particularly when they carried their caution so far as not to suffer us to have a pair of scissors to cut our nails with; and we were obliged to thrust our hands through the palisades to get the soldiers to perform that office for us. We were never suffered to have needles or



pins in our possession; and our clothes were always mended by the guards who attended us. I was overjoyed at the lucky acquisition of the knife which, I hoped, in course of time might be made useful to us; and I took the first opportunity of desiring Simanoff to preserve it like a treasure. Secondly, Schkajeff informed me that the soldiers had been hinting something about our departure for Matsmai, and that the old litters were already brought into the court-yard. On the following morning this story was confirmed by the Japanese officers themselves, who formally acquainted us that we must hold ourselves in readiness for a journey.

In the evening we were each furnished with a cloak, made of varnished cotton-cloth, a straw hat, with a round brim, a pair of stockings, and straw shoes, which the Japanese wear for travelling.

On the evening of the 26th of September we were informed, that on the following morning, if the weather proved fair, we should set out on our journey. At break of day, on the 27th, preparations were accordingly commenced, and several of the officers came to bid us a formal adieu. They entered our little apartments, and, with the assistance of the interpreter, said that they had come to bid us farewell, to wish us good health, a safe journey, and a speedy termination of the difficulties in which we were involved. In the meanwhile we had each a rope tied round the waist. We were then led into the court-yard, and placed side by side, a soldier was stationed beside each as a guard, and a superintendent or conductor held the rope. These travelling regulations in no way corresponded with the kindness which the Japanese had, a short while before, manifested in taking leave of us. We were almost tempted to believe that their conduct was all mockery; but it was highly improbable that all the



officers of the city, the commander-in-chief included, should have combined together to pass a joke upon us. By degrees, however, we became accustomed to the singular habits of this people.

About mid-day we set out on our journey. We were conducted in the same order as in our former march, only that in addition to the litters, horses were introduced into the procession, bearing our quilts and night-dresses, by way of saddles. In the road through which we passed, at the distance of about a hundred fathoms from the prison, we met with a detachment of infantry under arms. It was a clear and warm day, and a vast number of spectators had assembled, many of whom accompanied us to the distance of three wersts. Our escort consisted of one officer, from twelve to sixteen soldiers, two superintendents, and a considerable number of individuals, whose business was to carry the litters, lead the horses, &c. and who were relieved at the different stations which we passed. We were besides accompanied by the interpreter, Kumaddscherö, and the physician, Togo.

As we had been confined for the space of fifty days, we were glad to enjoy the recreation of walking, and we only mounted the horses when we felt fatigued. On these occasions the Japanese rolled up the ropes with which we were bound, fastened them, and suffered us to ride at liberty. This, however, they only did when our road happened to lie through open fields: whenever we had to pass through villages, they never failed to hold the ends of the ropes.

Our road from Chakodade lay along the bay, close to the shore. Having arrived opposite to the tongue of land on which the city is built, we ascended a hill, on the summit of which a battery was erected. The apparent object of this battery was to prevent vessels from entering

the bay: it was, however, very ill calculated for that purpose, owing to the extreme height of the hill, and the breadth of the channel which formed the entrance. We were conducted past this battery,\* a circumstance which occasioned us no small degree of uneasiness. They sought to conceal nothing from us, even in their military works; and thence we inferred, that they doubtless intended to detain us prisoners for life, as in that case we could not turn to their disadvantage any knowledge we might collect respecting their system of fortification. We re-considered all the circumstances which had occurred in Chakodade, from which it appeared that flight was our only means of deliverance. But we were soon convinced of the impracticability of escaping at this time; for though during the night the ropes with which we were bound were laid aside, yet the greater part of our attendants never closed their eyes, and some never quitted the apartments in which we were lodged. Our only chance was to break from them by force during the day, and considering the numbers by which we were surrounded, and that our only weapon was a knife, this seemed next to impossible.

Our food was the same as that with which we had been supplied during our journey to Chakodade, and we received a meal three times every day. In this part of the island the villages are extremely numerous and populous. The inhabitants maintain themselves by fishing and collecting sea-weed; besides this, they have, in general, large kitchen-

\* It consisted of an earthen breast-work, not very high, behind which were planted three or four small pieces of brass cannon, on two-wheeled carriages, which were, however, very different from our carriages. On cross-beams, at the foot of the breast-work, stood an eighteen or twenty-four pounder, which seemed to have been cast in Europe. It is probable that the Japanese had placed it in this situation, because so heavy a gun would have shaken to pieces on the first fire such carriages as they make.

gardens, in which they plant an extraordinary number of radishes. We not unfrequently saw entire fields thickly planted with these roots, which the Japanese, rich as well as poor, boil in their soup. The radish is in as common use with them as cabbage is among the Russians. They likewise salt or pickle radishes, and eat them with their food instead of seasoning. They bite off little bits of pickled radish when eating fish and other dishes which require salt.

We spent the night of the 29th of September in a little village about half a day's journey from Matsmai. This place was rendered memorable to us by the following circumstances. The interpreter, Kumaddschero, advised us when we should be examined in Matsmai, to be careful that our answers corresponded with our previous declarations. He assured us, that if we in the slightest degree departed from our former statements, we should be declared guilty by the Japanese laws. He besides supplied each of us with some excellent tobacco and several pieces of paper,\* and said that he gave us these things that the officers in Matsmai might not attribute our want of them to the negligence of our conductors. He desired us not to believe the physician when he told us that a fine house was preparing for us in Matsmai, where we should all live together. This we thought was much the same as telling us that a prison was to be our doom. What this extraordinary attention respecting the paper and tobacco denoted, we were, however, unable to divine.

On the afternoon of the 30th of September we halted in

\* The Japanese, instead of pocket-handkerchiefs, make use of pieces of paper. The richer class of people use a very fine kind of paper; the poor, on the contrary, use very coarse. On this occasion, we had a much finer kind of paper given to us than that with which we had been supplied in Chakodade.

a village about three wersts distant from Matsmai, where we were met by a party of soldiers and a vast crowd of people. We remained there about half an hour, during which time our conductors put on their best clothes, and we then entered the city with the same formalities as had been observed at Chakodade: the number of spectators was, however, considerably greater, owing to the vast population of the city. Having proceeded through the town, to the distance of about four or five wersts along the shore, we entered a large open space, crowded with men, who stood behind ropes, which had been fixed for the accommodation of the procession. Thence we ascended a tolerably high hill, passed along the rampart which encompassed the castle, and entered a court-yard, surrounded by a high wooden fence, entirely new. Here we met a detachment of soldiers in their military uniforms. From this court-yard a little door led through another fence, higher than the preceding one. We now entered a dark edifice like a barn. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and myself, were shut up together in a cage; the sailors and Alexei were confined in another.

## CHAPTER IV.

Arrival at Matsmai—The prison described—The captives conducted into the presence of the Bunyo, for examination—Hall of Justice—Ornaments and furniture of a Japanese saloon—Dresses of the Bunyo and his suite—Japanese tailoring—Cookery—The Bunyo's curiosity respecting European manners and customs—Frivolous and troublesome questions—Improvements in the prison—Portraits of Japanese ladies—The prisoners furnished with writing materials—A stupid interpreter—Memorial and petition—Confession of the Kurile, Alexei—Gratifying address of the Bunyo—He orders that the prisoners shall be unbound.

ON the first view of our prison, we thought we should never again behold the light of the sun ; for, though the weather was fine, and the sky bright when we entered, we found darkness had already commenced in this dismal abode, where no cheering ray seemed to penetrate. The place of our confinement, the fence which surrounded the yard, and the sentry-boxes, were all so recently finished, that the workmen had not had time to remove their chips. The prison was a quadrangular wooden building, twenty-five paces long, fifteen broad, and twelve feet high. Three sides were complete wall, without any aperture whatever ; but the south side was formed of strong spars, four inches square, and placed at the distance of four



inches from each other. On the side which consisted of these spars, there was a gate and a little door, both of which were, however, kept fast locked. In the middle were two cages, formed of spars, similar to those on the south side of the prison. These cages were so placed, as to leave a passage between each, and also passages between them and the walls of the prison. One cage was six paces square, and ten feet high; the other was of the same breadth and height, but was eight paces long. We three officers were put into the former; the sailors and Alexei were confined in the latter. The entrance to the cage was so low, that we were obliged to creep into it. The door was formed of massive spars, and was fastened by a strong iron bolt. Above the door was a small hole, through which our food was handed to us. A small water-closet was constructed in the further end of each cage. The sides of the cage next each other were placed in such a manner that we could see the sailors, though they could not perceive us; a screen was also placed between the closets, for the purpose of obstructing the view from the one to the other. A guard-room was constructed against the spars which formed the entrance side of the prison, and which was occupied by two soldiers in the service of the imperial government, who were constantly on duty: they could see us all, and they seldom turned their eyes away from us. The whole building was surrounded at the distance of from six to eight paces by a high wall or fence, with sharp pointed wooden stakes, and in this fence there was a door exactly opposite that of the prison. Around the first wall was a second, but less high fence, enclosing a considerable space, within which were, on one side of the gate of the great wall, the cooking-room and an apartment for the servants, and, on the other side, a guard-house. The

outer guard consisted of soldiers belonging to the Prince of Tzyngar. These soldiers were not allowed to come near us, nor even to pass within the first fence; but they patrolled the rounds every half hour. During the night they had lights and fires, and they struck the hours with two boards. The imperial soldiers, on the contrary, visited us every half hour, walked round our cages, and looked through the spars. The whole structure was situated between an abrupt and deep hollow, through which a stream flowed, and the rampart of the castle, from which it was separated by a road of no great breadth. At night this prison was horribly dismal. We had no fire; a night-lamp, supplied with fresh oil, and placed in a paper lantern, was kept burning in the guard-room, but the feeble glimmering light which it shed between the spars was scarcely capable of rendering any object visible to us. The clanking noise caused every half hour by the moving of the locks and bolts, when the soldiers inspected us, rendered this gloomy place still more dismal, and did not allow us to enjoy a moment's repose.

The whole structure must have occasioned the Japanese Government no inconsiderable cost. We could not believe that so much labour and expense would have been incurred had it been intended to set us soon at liberty. The strength and the plan of this prison appeared to denote that it was to be our dwelling-place during the remainder of our existence. This idea distressed us not a little. We sat long in profound silence, gazing at each other, and giving ourselves up for lost. A servant at length brought in our supper, which consisted of boiled rice, a piece of fish, and a few beans with syrup. He handed it through the spars, and, not observing me as I lay in a corner, he inquired, in broken Russian, where the



third was. Mr. Moor immediately asked him where he had learned Russian, to which he replied "in Kamtschatka." Mr. Moor told him that he had also been in Kamtschatka. The Japanese, however, understood him to say that he had seen him there. He was overjoyed to hear this, and repeated what he supposed Mr. Moor had said to the interpreter. We had frequently told him that we knew of no Japanese having been at Kamtschatka, except the seven who had been saved from shipwreck, and who were in Nischny-Kamtschatsk, but whom we had not seen. On our endeavouring to make the interpreter comprehend the mistake of the servant, he exclaimed: "How artful! how artful!" and went away. This circumstance gave us much uneasiness, as it was calculated to make the Japanese suspect that there was something in the affair which we wished to conceal from them.

On the 1st of October it was notified to us, that on the following day we should be taken before the bunyo, or viceroy. We were conducted in the same manner as in Chakodade, except that on this occasion the ends of the ropes which bound us were held by imperial soldiers. The road to the southern gate of the castle, or fortress, to which we were conducted, lay between the rampart and the hollow, and extended to the distance of about a quarter of a werst from our prison. As the road was muddy, the Japanese had laid down planks for us to walk on, and held umbrellas over us to protect us from the rain.

On entering the castle, we soon found ourselves in a sort of court, or yard, of considerable size, strewed with small stones or gravel, and we were put into a low long-shaped building, and placed all in a row upon one bench. We waited here about an hour; when at length a door was opened, and we were conveyed into a second court. Pro-

ceeding forward, we came to the door of a third court, on approaching which, the soldiers who escorted us pulled off their shoes\* and laid them down, with their swords and daggers, at the door: in like manner we were obliged to deposit our boots. This door being opened, we walked on very fine straw mats to a large wooden building. Here we were placed in the front of a spacious saloon; the screens (of which the walls, according to the Japanese mode of building, were formed) being thrown open on the side next the court. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and myself, were placed on an elevated spot; the sailors behind us, but somewhat lower, and Alexei sat on our left. Our servant, who was named Heinste, and who understood a few words of Russian,† took his station on our right (this was the place of the interpreter), and Kumaddscheron on our left. This servant had told us that he was to be our interpreter in our conference with the bunyosso; but we did not believe that he would venture to undertake a task he was so incapable of executing.

The saloon was very extensive. The screens which formed its sides were some of paper, others of wood; all were gilded and adorned with Japanese paintings of landscapes, quadrupeds and birds. The curious carved work and the various kinds of fine wood of which the doors and frames were formed, added greatly to the elegance of this extraordinary edifice. The floor was covered with finely worked carpets. On each side of the saloon were five officers, with daggers in their girdles, sitting cross-legged, according to the Japanese custom; and three among them

\* Or, more properly, straw sandals; for the Japanese wear neither boots nor shoes, but make with plaited straw or grass a kind of sandals.

† There were two of our attendants who, as the Japanese supposed, understood Russian. One was named Heinste, the other Fok-Masse.

had large sabres, lying beside them on the left hand : they were in their usual costume.

After we had waited about a quarter of an hour, during which the Japanese laughed and amused themselves in conversation with each other, we suddenly heard a rustling behind a screen. One of the officers called out—*Schee!* and a deep silence immediately followed. A Japanese, in the ordinary dress, entered, kneeled down, placed the palms of his hands on the floor, and bowed his head. The bunyo now appeared. He was in a common black dress, on the sleeves of which, as is the custom with all the Japanese, his armorial bearings were embroidered ; he had a dagger at his girdle, and his sabre was carried by one of his suite, consisting of five men, including the one who had entered first. The sabre-bearer held that weapon near the extremity, with the hilt upward ; but a cloth was wrapped round that part of the blade which he grasped, to preserve his naked hand from coming in contact with it. The bunyo took his place without delay. He faced us, and looked like a president sitting at the head of his council. The persons of his suite sat down behind him at the distance of three paces ; he who carried the sabre laid it down on the left of the bunyo. This was no sooner done, than the Japanese all testified their respect by laying the palms of their hands on the floor, and bending their bodies so low, that their foreheads almost touched the ground. In this position they remained for some seconds. The bunyo returned the compliment with a pretty low bow, in making which he laid the palms of his hands upon his knees. We saluted him after the European manner, on which he nodded his head, repeatedly smiled, and seemed desirous of showing that he was favourably disposed towards us. He drew from his bosom a paper, which he examined and



called each of us by our names: we answered with a bow, and he bowed in return. He then addressed himself to Heinste, who listened, with his forehead touching the ground; but when the bunyo ceased speaking, he stood up to interpret what had been said. This he however did so imperfectly, that we could not comprehend him. The following was the purport of his version: "Thou art a man—I am a man—such another is a man—say what sort of a man?" We advised him not to deceive his superior, but to confess frankly that he was incapable of performing the task he had undertaken, lest harm should befall him in consequence of his persisting. He listened with great attention to what we said, and proceeded to interpret it, in doing which he resumed his former position.

The Japanese wrote down what he said, and then a second question was put. The assurance of this man roused our indignation so far, that we declared we would answer no more questions, lest the impostor might injure us by his erroneous interpretations. Heinste, however, who was not in the least ruffled by this declaration, as in fact he did not well understand what we said, made some reply to the Japanese, who took a note of his supposed interpretation; after which a new question was asked. We turned to Alexei and Kumaddschero, and requested that they would explain the matter to the bunyo; but they did not dare to speak. Meanwhile the bunyo conversed with Heinste, and we heard him pronounce the Japanese word for father, which we happened to know. Probably he asked the names of our respective fathers. Heinste drew a paper, with Russian words, from his breast, and after stammering for a considerable time, at last acknowledged that he did not know the word, and could not find it in his list. When the bunyo and his officers found he

was ignorant of so common a word, they laughed, dismissed him, and again appointed Kumaddschero and Alexei to be our interpreters.

The questions commenced in the same manner as at Chakodade, with inquiries respecting our names, rank, families, and relations. In these particulars the interrogatories were even more minute than any we had answered before; and they were all put by the bunyo himself. After examining us on the subject of Resanoff's return from Japan, and the cause of our arrival among them, he asked some questions which had no relation to these subjects, and which appeared to arise from mere curiosity. Of these I recollect the following: he wished to know how the Russians buried their dead; what sort of monuments they erected over their graves, and whether, in that respect, any difference was made between the rich and the poor. When, in the course of our answers, we mentioned that the funerals of the rich were attended by a number of priests, the bunyo remarked that the same practice prevailed among the Japanese. At last he asked whether there was any request that we wished to address to him. We answered that we did not rightly know what was intended by that question, as we supposed the bunyo himself must be aware of the only request we had to make, seeing that we had been treacherously seized, and unjustly detained in prison. He then observed that we might address a petition to him with regard to the place in which we wished to reside; namely, whether in Matsmai, in Yeddo, the capital, or in any other part of Japan, or, finally, stating whether we would rather return to Russia. We replied that we had only two things to ask: the first was, to be permitted to return to our country; the second, in case the first was not possible, to die—these were the

only favours we had to request of the Japanese. The bunyo now, with evident emotion, made a long speech, which all present listened to with the utmost attention; and an expression of commiseration was visible in the countenances of all. Alexei then turned to explain to us what had been said; but he probably committed some blunders in his interpretation. He observed that he had heard so many consolatory assurances, that he despaired of being able to repeat them all; he would, however, endeavour to convey to us the substance of the speech, at which we should doubtless find some cause to rejoice. "The General,"\* continued Alexei, "says that the Japanese are men, and have hearts as well as other people, and that you have therefore no reason either to fear or despair. They will investigate your affair; and if they find that you are not deceiving them, and are not implicated in the proceedings of Chwostoff, they will send you back to Russia, and will supply you with rice, sagi, and other provisions and presents. In the meanwhile, they advise you to console yourselves, as they will look after your health and see that you want for nothing. If you require clothes, or any particular kind of food, they desire that you will not hesitate to make your request known." We thanked the bunyo for this consolatory speech, and for his promise that we should have justice done us; upon which he withdrew, having directed our attendants to conduct us back to prison. Before he retired he bowed to the officers, and they to him, as on his entrance. When he rose, his sword-bearer immediately took his sabre up

\* So Alexei styled the bunyo, because the Governor of Kamtschatka was called General at that time. From 1799 to 1812, that office was filled by major-generals in the army.



with the cloth, holding the hilt upwards, and followed him.

Amidst the singularly unfortunate combination of circumstances, calculated to fill the minds of the Japanese with distrust and enmity, the assurance of the governor tended greatly to ease our minds. We thought that no men could have so well assumed the mask of dissimulation, and put on such an appearance of sympathy, if they really did not feel for us. On the other hand, bitter experience had confirmed all that we had before heard or read concerning the falsehood and deceit of the Oriental nations, and in particular of the Japanese. We were frequently annoyed by the reflection that this subtle and cunning people were doubtless aware of the use they might make of us, when we should become reconciled to our fate of remaining for ever in Japan; and that they, perhaps, consoled us only with empty hopes, lest we should pine our lives away in despair, and thus rob them of the advantages they might otherwise derive from our experience and knowledge of European life.

On the following day, the 3rd of October, we were again conducted to the castle, and placed in the presence of the bunyo, with all the formalities which had been observed on the former occasion. He devoted but little attention to the main subject of investigation, but questioned us for a long time concerning the various customs and manners of the Europeans. Among other things, he inquired whether we ever witnessed such a storm in Russia as had taken place on the preceding night in Japan. In some places, he added, the weather was much more stormy than in Matsmai. "This," said he, "was not one of our very severe storms; at Nyphon they are both more violent and frequent than here." He endeavoured



to give to this examination the appearance of a friendly conversation, and in about two hours time he dismissed us, that we might partake of some refreshment.

We entered a spacious court-yard, and took our seats in a summer-house, where the Japanese, by order of the governor, served us with tea and sugar. It was not allowable to smoke tobacco in the court-yard of the bunyo's castle, our guards therefore went by turns into the kitchen and guard-room to smoke their pipes. In the meantime the interpreter, Kumaddscherro, came to us, accompanied by a civil officer and a tailor, who, he said, had been ordered by the governor to make some clothes for us, either after the Japanese or the Russian form, as we ourselves might think fit; but that, if we wished to have them after the Russian fashion, we must furnish the tailor with a pattern. We observed that we had clothes enough, and felt no wish to have more; upon which we were informed that that was of no importance; that the governor wished to make us a present, and we must not reject it. All contradiction being therefore useless, we stated that we wished to have some warm clothes made after the pattern of a coat which had been sent from the sloop for Mr. Chlebnikoff.

The tailor was then conducted to the store-house, where our things were kept; the coat was shown to him, and he proceeded to take our measures: he made use of a measure which was divided into ten parts, and he noted everything down in writing. When he had measured us,\*

\* In the course of a few days our new clothes were brought to us. Those for Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff and myself were made of a cherry-coloured cotton stuff, somewhat resembling frieze, which the Japanese call *mompa*, and were wadded and lined with cotton. The sailors' clothes

we were again summoned to appear before the bunyo, who examined us for several hours, and at length dismissed us with an exhortation not to abandon ourselves to despair, but to offer up prayers to God, and wait with patience for the issue of the investigation. "Be assured," said he, "that I will use all my influence with the Emperor to obtain his consent that you may return to your native country. I will provide you with paper and ink, that you may draw up an account of your case in the Russian language, and with the help of the interpreters get it translated into Japanese. I will examine it, transmit it to the government, and will see that everything is terminated to your advantage. You may also draw up a petition to be presented to me." We thanked him for his kindness, and returned to our melancholy prison; not knowing whether these consolations of the Japanese were sincere or feigned.

We did not again appear before the bunyo until the 6th of October. Our food in Matsmai was incomparably better than it had been in Chakodade. According to the Japanese custom, stewed rice and pickled radishes served us instead of bread and seasoning. We were besides frequently furnished with good fresh and salt fish, boiled or fried; soups, in which there were various wild herbs or macaroni; and sometimes there was prepared for us a kind of Russian soup or sauce, made with white fish and muscle broth. The fish were fried in oil of poppies, and were seasoned with grated radish and soy. When the snow began to fall, they shot for us seals, bears, and

were of common cotton stuff, wadded and lined, and of the same form as ours. They were all, however, very singularly shaped, being neither cloaks, great-coats, nor Japanese loose gowns. Alexei had a dress made after the Japanese form.

frequently hares. The Japanese consider the flesh of whales and sea-lions to be the most delicate of all food. Our attendants, some of whom had been in Russia, were ordered to cook our victuals in the way we liked best. We were accordingly sometimes regaled with small patties of barley-meal with fish, which were pretty savoury, and they also gave us a kind of dark-coloured grits, boiled. These were the only imitations of Russian dishes they knew how to prepare. Our meals were usually served to us thrice every day. Our drink consisted either of luke-warm or hot tea; and when we returned from the castle, our attendants usually presented each of us with two teacups full of warm *sagi*; this they never failed to do when the weather was colder than usual.

We were living almost in the open air; and, as the weather was extremely cold, the Japanese gave to each of our sailors a large night-dress, and one bear-skin: they furnished the officers and myself with two bear-skins each, and placed benches for us to sleep upon, as they had heard that the Russians did not like to lie on the ground. They besides gave the sailors a bench to sit upon. These attentions, however, corresponded very ill with our rigorous confinement, and therefore appeared to us very unaccountable.

Besides the orderly officers, who came to us by turns during the day, a particular officer was appointed to look after our provisions. The apparent kindness of the Japanese emboldened us to ask one of the officers whether we could not have a window made in the back wall of the prison, as through the palisades we could discern nothing but the sky and the tops of a few trees. He did not oppose our request, but he examined the wall, and asked us where we thought it would be best to make the window. We felt reason to hope that our request would be complied with;



but we were disappointed. On the renewal of our solicitation a few days afterwards, the officer replied that the Japanese were careful of our health, and feared lest the bleak north winds might give us cold. We were consequently compelled to give up all thought of the window.

From the 6th of October, to the end of the month, we were conducted regularly every day, or every other day, to the bunyo, who usually detained us during many hours, so that our attendants were obliged to carry our meals to the castle. About the middle of October,\* when the frost began, the bunyo left off receiving us in the saloon, and our examinations afterwards took place in a chamber of justice, similar to that at Chakodade, and which was likewise hung round with instruments of punishment. The number of questions which the bunyo asked was incalculable. If he put one interrogatory concerning any circumstance connected with our case, he asked fifty which were unimportant, and many which were ludicrous. This so puzzled and tormented us, that we sometimes made very irritable replies. On one occasion, we stated plainly, that we had rather they would put an end to our existence at once than torture us in the way they did. When we were captured, I had about me ten or twelve keys belonging to my desk and drawers, and to boxes containing the astronomical instruments used on board the ship. The bunyo wished to be informed of the contents of every drawer and every box. When I pointed to my shirt, and told him that my drawers contained such things as those, he asked me how many I had. I replied that I did not know; and that it was my servant's business to keep that

\* The first snow fell in Matsmai on the 14th of October, but it was melted by a thaw a few days afterwards. Towards the middle of November the snow fell very thick, and winter then set in.

reckoning. Upon this he immediately enquired how many servants I had, and what were their names and ages. I lost all patience, and asked why I was teased with such questions, and what use there could be in answering them since my property was not with me. The governor then, with great mildness, observed that he hoped we were not offended by his curiosity; that he did not intend to force any answers from us, but merely questioned us like a friend. This kindness soothed our irritation. The bunyo then asked a few questions relative to our business, but soon assumed his old system of examination, and at length dismissed us, harnessed, as usual, like so many horses. In this manner we frequently disputed and adjusted our differences three or four times in the course of a day.

To enable the reader to form some notion of the questions which the Japanese put to us, and the trouble it cost us to explain the various matters which excited their curiosity, I may here subjoin a few of their interrogatories, scarcely, however, the hundredth part of the frivolous enquiries which they were accustomed to make in the course of one day. It must, moreover, be considered that we had to make ourselves understood to them by means of a half-wild Kurile, who knew scarcely anything of the subjects on which we conversed, and who was acquainted with no words in the Kurile language to express many of the terms which we made use of. The Japanese interrogated us without any kind of regularity, and often jumped from one subject to another. The following is a specimen of one of our examinations :

What kind of dress does the Emperor of Russia wear—what does he wear on his head\*—what kind of birds are

\* When they heard that Mr. Moor was a good draughtsman, they requested him to draw the figure of our Emperor's hat upon a piece of paper

found in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg—how many times do the Russians go to church in one day—what would be the price in Russia of the clothes we were then wearing—how many pieces of cannon are planted round the imperial palace\*—what wool is made use of in Europe for manufacturing cloth†—what quadrupeds, birds, and fish are eaten in Russia—in what manner do the Russians eat—what sort of dresses do the ladies wear—what kind of horse does the Emperor usually ride—who accompanies him when he goes abroad—are the Russians partial to the Dutch—how many foreigners are there in Russia—what are the chief articles of trade in St. Petersburg—what are the dimensions in length, breadth, and height, of the imperial palace‡—how many windows does it contain—

\* On our informing them that the sovereigns of Europe did not fortify their palaces, they at first seemed to doubt the truth of what we said. They, however, afterwards expressed their astonishment at what they termed such singular want of caution.

† On our mentioning sheep and goats, they requested Mr. Moor to draw them the figures of those animals. At length they asked him for horses, asses, coaches, sledges, &c; in short, they wished to have everything represented on paper which they could not see in Japan. They always made their requests with the utmost courtesy, and therefore Moor could not refuse them, although he found it a very tedious and troublesome task to satisfy all their demands: fortunately, however, he sketched with astonishing rapidity.

‡ When we replied that we did not know, they requested that we would inform them according to supposition. This they never failed to do whenever we sought to evade their questions. They frequently put us out of humour by making enquiries respecting things of which we could not possibly possess any knowledge, such for instance as: how many docks are there in Europe in which ships are built; and how many ships of war and merchantmen are there in all Europe? We might indeed have invented answers of some kind or other; but we found it necessary to be upon our guard, as they frequently questioned us on the same subject at different times, and in different ways.



how many festivals do the Russians observe in the course of the year—do the Russians wear silk clothes—at what time of life do the Russian women begin and cease to bear children? They besides enquired the names of the Emperor, and of all the branches of the imperial family; the names of the governors-general of Siberia and Irkutsk, and of the commandants of Okotzk, Kamtschatka, &c.

But they vexed us most of all by their enquiries respecting barracks. I have already observed that in Chakodade they insisted on knowing how many men were under our command, according to our rank, when we were ashore. This question was again repeated, together with a request to know where the sailors lived in St. Petersburg. In barracks, we replied. They then requested Mr. Moor to sketch, from the best of his recollection, a plan of St. Petersburg, and to point out in what part of the town the sailors' barracks were. This demand was no sooner complied with, than they made enquiries respecting the length, breadth, and height of the barracks; the number of their gates, windows, and doors; into how many stories they were divided; in what part of the building the sailors lived; how they employed their time; how many men were employed to guard the barracks, &c.

But this was not all: they questioned us about the military barracks; asked how many buildings of that kind there were in St. Petersburg, in what part of the town they were situated, and what number of men they contained. We thought it best to plead ignorance of most of these matters; but this did not exempt us from the continuance of these interrogatories. We were asked in what part of the city our dwellings were situated, how far they were from the palace, and requested to point out the spot on the sketch which Mr. Moor had drawn. At length

they wished to know how large our houses were, and how many servants we kept. I frequently thought that the Japanese took a pleasure thus to torment us ; for to reply to all the questions which their insatiable curiosity induced them to put to us, was a positive martyrdom. We sometimes absolutely refused to answer them, and told them they might, if they pleased, put us to death. The bunyo would then endeavour to soothe us by expressions of regard and by making enquiries respecting matters relative to our imprisonment, but he would soon resume his trifling. We avoided by every possible manœuvre giving any opportunity for unnecessary questions ; we returned short replies, and sometimes only half an answer. But every word brought with it a train of interrogatories. They admired the fine handwriting and drawing of Mr. Moor ; they looked upon him to be an exceedingly learned man, and asked him where he had been educated. He was careful to avoid saying he had been brought up in the Naval Cadet College ; and to steer clear of the thousand questions which would infallibly have ensued respecting that institution, he merely said that he had received his education in his uncle's house. Then followed a string of questions concerning his uncle, who he was, whether he was rich, where he resided, and whether he had himself been Moor's instructor. On his informing them that he had had tutors, they enquired their names, and where they had been educated. When they asked me where I was brought up, I told them in my father's house, and naturally concluded that there would be an end of the matter ; but I was obliged to inform them when and how I had acquired my education, whether my father was rich, and with what sciences he was acquainted.

At last all the things which they had taken from us

were produced; we were asked their names, their uses, where they had been manufactured, and how much they cost. Our answers were taken down in writing, and a label with a superscription was affixed to each of the articles. One day, a box full of my English and French books was brought into the presence of the bunyo, though we had not been previously informed of their having been sent from the sloop. The Japanese took up the books one by one, showed them to us, and made enquiries respecting their contents. With regard to some of the books this explanation was easy enough; but, with others, we experienced no small difficulty. Among the latter was the "*Physique*" of Libes, in three volumes, in the French language. This work contains numerous plans of various instruments and machines, which powerfully excited the curiosity of the Japanese. Everything they saw filled them with amazement. They declared themselves overjoyed that such a book should have fallen into their hands, and requested an explanation of the figures which most pleased them. In vain did we tell them that with such an interpreter as Alexei we could not possibly make them understand the meaning of the plates; they entreated that we would give them some notion of what kind of book it was. We told Alexei that the book treated of the means of raising heavy weights, and showed him one of the plates representing a crane and block. He immediately understood us, and translated what we said. But this did not satisfy the Japanese; they replied that such things had long since been well known to them. They pointed to one of the plates explanatory of the refraction of rays, and asked us what it meant, and whether it did not relate to the distance between the sun and the earth. I thought it would not be difficult to make Alexei comprehend this



figure, and asked him whether he had not observed that when the end of an oar was in the water it had the appearance of being broken. "Oh yes!" he said, "I have observed that, though I do not know how it happens." When we tried to explain to him the refraction of rays, he asked us what a ray was. No sooner had we made him understand the meaning of the word than he burst into a fit of laughter. "Oh, that's impossible," said he; "what man can break a ray?" We were likewise unable to repress our laughter, and the Japanese joined us without knowing why. They seemed at last convinced that Alexei was not a competent interpreter for such matters; but he himself was fully of opinion that we were talking nonsense. They now took the books from us, saying, "another time, another time," and began to pack them carefully up in the box. It appeared they took us all for extremely learned men, but, in particular, entertained that opinion of me, because my name was written in all the books. They questioned me concerning that circumstance, and expressed their astonishment at my having so many books in my possession. From what fell from them they seemed to expect that we would, one day or other, be able to make them understand the contents of these books, which, at present, appeared perfectly enigmatical to them.

I subjoin two observations which the Japanese made concerning the books. They asked me why I had so many foreign books, and only one in the Russian language,\* and whether they did not know how to print books in Russia. "It is," I replied, "because they happen to have sent from the sloop only the chest containing the foreign books: the Russian volumes are in another box."

\* This was Tatischtschew's French Dictionary.

They then asked how it happened that my foreign books were so handsomely bound and printed on fine paper, whilst that in the Russian language was, on the contrary, printed on coarse paper. I could only reply that the Russians, as well as other nations, occasionally printed their books either on fine or coarse paper.

Among a number of insignificant questions, arising from mere curiosity, the Japanese wished to know the military and naval force, the number of garrisons, and the riches and strength of the Russian empire, &c. We readily replied to these questions, always bearing in mind that which we had previously said; and though each interrogatory was repeated ten times over, we were constantly prepared with a corresponding answer. It seemed to them impossible that we should make use of bombs weighing nine pounds; and they laughed when we said that we preferred firing muskets with flints, as they make use of matches for that purpose.

With regard to the circumstances relative to our imprisonment, the bunyo asked all the questions which we had previously answered in Chakodade. He repeated them once, and sometimes twice during the day; but he always seemed to consider the satisfaction of his own curiosity as the most important object, and all else as mere accessory matters. A wish was, however, shown to have clear and decided answers to any question relative to our own case. We learned that our two attendants were the same Japanese who had been carried off from the Island of Sagaleen by Chwostoff, and who were detained by him for a whole winter at Kamtschatka, and then sent back to Japan. What had been his object in doing all this we knew not. Those attendants constantly accompanied us to the castle, and were always present during the examinations.

The bunyo once asked a question concerning Chwostoff, and immediately spoke to one of the attendants. The latter answered (for we understood the purport of what he said perfectly well) that Chwostoff wore a uniform ornamented with gold lace, the same as mine and Mr. Moor's. All the Japanese present looked at us, and smiled. The bunyo then said that the two attendants, Heinste and Fok-Masse, who had been taken before the chief Commandant of Kamtschatka, had heard him declare that he would overrun Japan with a numerous army, and burn and destroy everything he could find. We replied, that it appeared to us improbable that the Commandant of Kamtschatka should have made any such declaration; but that, even if he had, our government entertained no such intentions; otherwise its hostilities would not have been confined to empty threats, and the Japanese would soon have experienced the difference between a predatory attack made by a private individual, and a regular war declared by the Emperor. The bunyo was not in the least degree offended by this answer, and continued his questions with his usual civility.

At the close of this examination, the bunyo informed us that we should not be brought to the castle for some time again, so that we might have leisure to draw up a written statement of our case, with the assistance of the interpreter, Kumaddschero, to whom he had given every necessary instruction. He then dismissed us with an exhortation not to yield to despair; but to offer up prayers to Heaven, and to place confidence therein; adding, that in case we stood in need of anything, he requested us immediately to inform him, since we should experience every indulgence he could grant consistently with the laws of his country.



I must not omit to mention several marks of attention which the Japanese showed to us during the month of October. I have already observed that they provided us with warm clothing and bear-skins; but as the cold continued to increase, they stopped up the spaces between the spars of our cages with paper, and at our earnest entreaty, made windows at the top, which opened and shut by means of a rope. From these windows we could indeed discern nothing save the sky and the tops of a few trees; but in our sad condition even that afforded us some consolation. They besides dug large holes for hearths, at about one and a half or two paces from each cage,\* which they built round with thick free-stone, and filled with sand. In these fire-places they burnt charcoal from morning to night, which warmed us when we seated ourselves on the ground near the spars. In the course of a few days we were supplied with tobacco for smoking, and very long pipes, to the middle of which a wooden ball was affixed, of so large a size that it would not pass between the palisades, and was intended to hinder us from drawing the burning pipes into our prisons. We

\* Several functionaries, together with the interpreter, the physician, and aman who seemed to be an architect, assembled like the members of a council, to debate concerning the precise spots where these holes should be dug. The ground was examined and measured, and upwards of an hour was spent in deliberation. At first we naturally supposed that some affair of mighty importance was in agitation, but we soon learned what it all tended to. They wished the fires to be kindled at such a distance that we could not reach the coals with our hands, though we could light our pipes by means of the long tubes they supplied us with. This dilatory and trifling conduct of the Japanese caused us much vexation. If, thought we, they deliberate for an hour about matters of this nature, how long will it be ere they bring the investigation of our case to an issue.

felt irritated at this singular mark of distrust, and reproached the Japanese in pretty plain terms for the opinion they entertained of Europeans. They, however, referred to their laws, which, they said, obliged them to remove from the reach of their prisoners anything by which they might commit violence, either on themselves or others. They told us that we were only permitted to smoke tobacco through the special favour of the governor, and that without absolutely violating their laws they had granted us some indulgences, and had kindled fires for us; they therefore observed that we ought not to murmur at any trifling restriction. This explanation consoled us; we were glad to find that they did not adhere strictly to the letter of their laws, and that they often made evasions in our favour. In the present case the Japanese had to be careful to avoid war with Russia; it was accordingly natural enough that they should choose not to be over punctual in expounding their statutes, rather than to draw down upon themselves the anger of so powerful a neighbour. They, moreover, assured us, that our condition would be bettered in course of time, and that at length the highest mark of favour they could show us would be to send us back to our native country. We were told that the Japanese never did anything rashly; that with them every measure was executed slowly and deliberately, and that, consequently, our condition could only be gradually improved. This we well knew from experience, for we had never yet received two civilities or favours in the course of the same day.

Among the many marks of kindness with which the bunyo honoured us, one in particular deserves to be noticed. There were one day shown to us several models of boats and ships, which appeared to us to be Chinese;

a silver rouble bearing the head of Catherine II.; a Japanese bag, containing about two pounds of rice; and an elegant case of flasks, partly lacquered and partly gilt: the latter was the property of the bunyo. The Japanese asked us whether we had ever seen anything in Europe like the models and the case of flasks; and, further, what was the name and value of the coin, and what quantity of rice the bag would contain, according to Russian weight. Their questions were short, and unaccompanied by the usual digressions. They then poured from the flasks some excellent sagi and cordials, which they presented to us. The interpreter, Kumaddscheru, gave us to understand that this was done by order of the bunyo, who, according to their laws, could not entertain us in his own house. I must likewise observe, that the Japanese did everything which they thought would contribute to our comfort, and were particularly watchful of our health. Our physician visited us daily; and if we felt the slightest indisposition, he repeated his visits twice or three times in course of the day, and in cases which appeared in any degree dangerous he brought another physician along with him. Their attention to us was carried to so great a length, that one night, when a fire broke out in the city,\* our guards came into our cage, and explained to us the cause of the alarm, and desired us not to trouble ourselves about it. However, during the first few days of our imprisonment at Matsmai, they were far from paying such particular regard to us.

I must not omit mentioning one very laughable circumstance, the real cause of which we were unable to

\* This fire broke out owing to the carelessness of the guards on board of a vessel which was lying on the shore underneath a shed. In cases of fire, the Japanese sound an alarm and beat drums through the streets.

divine. Our meals were superintended by an old officer, sixty years of age. He behaved very civilly to us, and frequently consoled us with the assurance that we should be sent back to Russia. One day he brought to us three portraits of Japanese ladies, very richly dressed. We supposed that he meant merely to show them to us, and we were about to return them to him, when he desired us to keep them. We refused, but he insisted that we should accept of them. We asked him what use they could be to us; and he replied, that we might amuse ourselves by looking at them when the time hung heavily on our hands. We then asked him whether he thought that in our situation we could be amused by the sight of such beauties. Indeed, the figures were so wretchedly designed, that they were calculated only to excite aversion and ridicule. The old man, however, insisted on our accepting of his portraits. We complied with his wish, and afterwards made the interpreter, Kumaddschero, a present of them. Mr. Moor jokingly told him that we did not wish to keep the portraits, lest we might be induced to request his countrymen to send the fair originals to amuse us, and we asked whether he thought the governor would accede to such a demand. "No, no," replied Kumaddschero, laughing, "not now; some time hence, perhaps."

During the last fortnight of the month of October we were occupied in drawing up a statement of our case. We were furnished with paper and ink, and Kumaddschero directed us how to prepare our memorial. At first we entered into a serious dispute with the Japanese on this subject, and refused to write anything at all. Kumaddschero required that we should write on separate sheets of paper for ourselves and the sailors a kind of affidavit, setting forth where we were born, what were

the names of our fathers and mothers, how long we had been in the naval service, &c. This we immediately did ; and he next wished us to state on the same sheets of paper all the absurd things respecting which we had been questioned : for instance, that the Russians buried their dead in church-yards on the outside of the city, that they erected crucifixes and other monuments over their tombs, &c. But this we refused to do ; declaring that a whole life would be insufficient to note down on paper all our answers to the trivial questions which had been put to us, and that the bunyo had merely required a statement of our case to be translated into Japanese. Our refusal caused displeasure, and endeavours were made to persuade us to do what it was declared would be to our own advantage. We, however, persisted in our determination ; and we were then requested to write down all the circumstances that had occurred to us since our departure from St. Petersburg ; we were told that everything might be made as short as possible, excepting what related to our communications with the Japanese, with every particular of which they desired to be made acquainted. This we agreed to do, and we told Kumaddschero that we would, during his absence, write out our case ; and when he should be present, with the assistance of Alexei, we would have it translated into Japanese. He requested that we would write the copy which was to be translated in such a way as to leave room between every two lines for one or two more.

We accordingly set to work, and, in order that we might reserve a copy of the statement for ourselves, we first of all wrote it out in a rough style : but in doing this we were obliged to proceed with the greatest caution, lest we should be observed by our guards, who scarcely



ever turned their eyes away from us, and who would have taken the papers from us. Mr. Chlebnikoff usually sat near the spars, wrapped in his large Japanese gown, turning his back towards our guards. He wrote with a straw,\* and placed his ink in a small wooden spoon,† before him. I walked up and down, and winked to him whenever any of the guards changed their position so as to be able to observe what he was doing. We were afraid to use for this purpose the paper with which Kumaddschero had provided us, lest the sheets might have been counted; we therefore wrote on the coarse paper which had been given to us for pocket-handkerchiefs. Mr. Moor, in the meanwhile, wrote out a fair copy of our statement, which we dictated under pretence of conversing with him. The trouble which our interpreters, Alexei and Kumaddschero, gave us whilst they were making the translation, is inconceivable. We endeavoured by all possible means to avoid such words and phrases as Alexei could not understand. Our style of writing would therefore have appeared singular enough to anybody but our interpreters. Notwithstanding all this, we were frequently unable to make Alexei comprehend us, and even when he did catch our meaning, he could sometimes find no corresponding words and expressions to convey what we intended to the Japanese interpreter.

\* The Japanese write with hair-pencils instead of pens; but Mr Chlebnikoff could not have used pencils without the knowledge of the attendants. We were obliged therefore to have recourse to the straws which lay on the floor of our prison.

† Neither spoons nor forks are used by the Japanese; they raise the food to the mouth on two slender reeds. Food of a fluid nature they sip out of the dish as we do tea. For this reason the Kuriles had made for us, during our journey, some small wooden spoons; one of which we now converted into an ink-stand.



Kumaddschero adopted the following plan. He first asked us how the Russians sounded particular words, and then described the pronunciation in Japanese characters, above the word itself. When he had completed a sheet in this way, he would ask us the signification of each of the words, and would write it down in Japanese above the pronunciation. This, however, gave us no little trouble. He was a man of about fifty years of age, naturally unintelligent, and had no notion whatever of any European language. If we explained to him the meaning of a word, either through Alexei's interpretation, or by gesticulations and examples, he would listen attentively to everything we said, and then exclaim "O-o-o;" which, in the Japanese language, is equivalent to "Yes, yes, I understand." We sometimes spent half an hour in explaining a single word to him; and when we thought we had made him fully understand it, he would again ask us what it meant, declaring that he could form no idea of its signification. We frequently lost all patience, and reproached him for his stupidity; but he would excuse himself by saying that he was old, and found the acquirement of the Russian language extremely difficult. He spent two whole days in endeavouring to comprehend the word "imperial." We occupied several hours at a time, trying to explain it to him by every example we could think of; and Alexei, who understood the word perfectly well, did all in his power to render it intelligible to him. Kumaddschero would listen attentively to all we said, laugh, and mutter out his "O-o-ssso!" but scarcely had we finished speaking, when he would say, "I understand Emperor quite well; but imperial, imperial, I cannot comprehend that at all." He had no notion of grammar, and prepositions and conjunctions could find no access to his

stupid head. It was quite inconceivable to him that we should place them before the noun substantives to which they referred, whilst, in the Japanese language they are always placed after them. This particularly excited his astonishment, and he would not believe that anything could be well expressed in so barbarous and imperfect a language as he regarded the Russian to be. When he had once comprehended the meaning of the words, he began to labour at the construction of the sentences. Here new difficulty arose. He maintained that the Russian words ought to follow each other in the same order as those in the Japanese translation, and he wished us to arrange them so, without perceiving that it made absolute nonsense. We assured him that this was impossible; but he declared that our translation would be considered incorrect, if we placed at the end of a sentence a word which ought to stand at the beginning.

At length, after long debates and disputes, we desired him to think on some Japanese and Kurile phrases, and asked him whether he could arrange them word for word in both languages. "I know that is impossible," replied he, "but the Kuriles are an uncultivated people, whose language has not even a manuscript character; while, on the contrary, books are not only written but printed in the Russian." We laughed at this observation, and Kumaddschero, with his accustomed good-humour, joined us. We assured him that though the different European languages contained phrases bearing a resemblance to each other, yet that it was impossible to arrange the vocabularies in the same manner in every one, and that it was the same with respect to the Japanese and Russian languages. This appeared to satisfy him. When he understood the meaning of any sentence in Russian, he

endeavoured to construe it by corresponding expressions in Japanese, and no longer troubled himself about the order of the words. He, however, seemed highly pleased when the words happened accidentally to follow each other in the same order in both languages. He then hurried on, and was sure to commit blunders; for, in cases where the Japanese words followed each other as in the Russian, but yet conveyed a very different sense, he wrote them down with great satisfaction, and always showed himself reluctant to make any alterations when we told him he had misunderstood our meaning.

When we had finished our translation, which was not until the middle of November, we drew up a petition to be presented to the bunyo, in which we addressed him by the title of Excellency, and entreated that he would take into consideration every circumstance tending to our justification, and request the Japanese Government to set us at liberty, and send us back to Russia. The translation of this petition cost us no less trouble than our memorial. At length, after numerous questions, explanations, remarks, additions, &c., made in conformity to the wish of the Japanese officer who examined the translations, we were informed that we should shortly be required to appear before the bunyo, who wished to question us personally concerning our statement, and to be convinced of its accurate translation.

Whilst we were occupied in this way, Alexei had obtained permission to remain alone with us in the absence of Kumaddschero. As we entertained some doubts about his attachment to us, we thought it prudent, during our conversation, to make use of uncommon, and even foreign words, which he did not understand. Alexei observed this, and told us, with great concern, how much he



regretted that we should withhold our confidence from him, as he was as good a Russian as ourselves, and served the same Emperor. He now informed us that the Japanese had sent to Kunashier some of the Kuriles whom they had seized on the Island of Eetooroop, and that the tale of their having been sent by the Russians was invented by those of the party who were still at Eetooroop; the rest continued to deny it until the Japanese threatened to put them to the torture, and promised, in case they would avow all, to liberate and reward them. They did not, however, confirm the falsehoods which the others had asserted. "I am now resolved," continued Alexei, "to make known the conduct of the Kuriles, and to suffer torture, or even death, to prove that I know God, and am as good as any Russian." To shorten his life by ten or twenty years, he said, was a trifling sacrifice, if by that means he could save his soul from eternal perdition. He, therefore, entreated that we would insert in our statement all that he had related to us. He spoke with much firmness and sensibility, and with a degree of eloquence so unusual to him, that we could not doubt the truth of what he said. We praised him for his good intention, and assured him that he would not be punished in Russia for a falsehood into which his companions had ensnared him; though we feared the Japanese would not credit what he said, and would suspect that we had persuaded him to contradict his former declarations. We told him it would be better to reflect on the best mode of explaining the affair, as the Japanese might, perhaps, ask why he had not confessed the truth on board the ship, or at least as soon as we were made prisoners. "That will not cost me a thought," answered Alexei; "whether they believe me or not is a matter of indifference to me, so as I do but justify

myself in the face of Heaven. I wish only to confess the truth. The Japanese may kill me if they will. I shall think it a happiness to die in such a cause." At these words the tears started from his eyes. We were so moved, that we ardently wished for some means of disclosing the affair to the Japanese, so that Alexei might not be a sufferer ; but this seemed impossible.

He seized the first opportunity of confessing the whole to Kumaddschero. He told him that the Kuriles had not been sent by the Russians, but that they had visited Japan of their own free-will, and for the purposes of carrying on trade. Kumaddschero was filled with amazement at this declaration, and called Alexei a fool and a lunatic. Alexei, however, insisted that he had spoken nothing but the truth, for which he was at any time ready to lay down his life. We knew not whether Kumaddschero immediately communicated this declaration to his superiors. When, however, we were again conveyed to the castle, that the bunyo himself, or some of his superior officers, might examine our translation, Alexei spoke with the same firmness and presence of mind on mention being made of the affair of the Kuriles. The Japanese were astonished at his accusing himself: they called him a blockhead, and apparently believed that we had persuaded him to make this confession, which they regarded as a fabrication.

The firmness with which he persisted in the truth of his story induced the Japanese to examine him several times alone. We feared that he might be led to deny his last declaration, and to confirm what he had first stated. On his return from the castle, we endeavoured to read in his countenance what was passing in his mind. As we were frequently permitted to leave our cages, and to go to warm ourselves at the fire in the lobby, we thus found an

opportunity of desiring the sailors to question Alexei concerning his examination : if his answers were satisfactory, we directed them to cough several times, and if not, they were to remain silent. To our great consolation, we heard a loud coughing in the evening, as if the sailors had been labouring under a severe cold. When, however, we found opportunities of discoursing with them in private, they expressed the greatest suspicion of Alexei, and firmly believed that he was deceiving us, by telling the Japanese a very different story. In support of this opinion, they told us that he had been endeavouring to learn from them the object of our visit to the Kurile Islands, and had advised them to declare to the Japanese all they knew respecting our intentions. We were, nevertheless, convinced of Alexei's sincerity, and that he had resolved to bring the truth to light, which finally proved to be the case.

After Alexei had been closely examined on every particular, we were again conducted into the presence of the bunyo. His first question was, whether the Russians had really sent the Kuriles to the coast of Japan ; and at what time Alexei had first disclosed to us that they, the Kuriles, had deceived the Japanese ? Here our answers did not fully correspond with each other. Alexei had not exactly understood the agreement made between us, and consequently did not answer in the way we wished. The Japanese laughed outright, and seemed to suspect that Alexei had been fabricating, in concert with us, an untruth, for the purpose of invalidating the declaration first made by the Kuriles. Alexei's presence of mind did not, however, forsake him ; he adhered to his assertion, and requested to be confronted with his countrymen. The Japanese would never inform us, whether, after the depar-



ture of the 'Diana,' they had suffered the Kuriles to leave Eetooroop. If we questioned our guards on this point, some replied that they knew nothing of the matter, some declared that the Kuriles had been sent home, and others that they were still at Eetooroop. We retired very sorrowfully to our prison; for the Japanese, we were persuaded, looked upon Alexei's declaration as a falsehood of our invention. We were convinced that they regarded us as spies and impostors. The idea of enduring everlasting imprisonment, at a distance from our native country, overwhelmed us with despair; and death appeared a thousand times preferable to the situation we were then in. The Japanese observed our despondency, and did all they could to console us: they supplied us with better food than usual, and under the plea of taking care of our health, provided us with new wadded dresses.

On the 19th of September we were again conducted to the castle. Our guards, attendants, and the interpreter, were exceedingly cheerful, and informed us that the governor had an agreeable piece of news to communicate to us. We were unable to divine what they alluded to. We remained for a considerable time in the ante-chamber, before we were conducted to the Hall of Justice, in which all the officers of the city were assembled. The bunyo at length entered; and, having taken his seat, asked us whether we were well,\* and whether we were ready to confirm all we had said respecting Chwostoff, and our not having visited their coasts with any evil intention. We repeated all that we had before stated; and he then

\* He never failed to welcome us with an inquiry respecting our health. He frequently asked us whether we were comfortable, whether our food was as good as we wished, and whether our attendants treated us with civility.

delivered a speech of considerable length, of which Alexei, as usual, could interpret only the general purport, which was as follows.

The Japanese at first supposed we intended to plunder and burn their villages. For this reason they had enticed us into their garrison, and had detained us by force, with the view of ascertaining what had induced the Russians to commence hostilities, as the Japanese had uniformly entertained friendly\* dispositions towards them. The bunyo, however, gave credit to our explanation of the affair, and regarded us as innocent: he had accordingly given orders for removing the ropes with which we were bound, and would do all that lay in his power to better our condition. If it depended on him to grant us our freedom, and send us back to Russia, he would do so without hesitation; but we must be informed that the bunyo of Matsmai was not the chief individual of the state, but that Japan was ruled by an Emperor and a superior government, whose commands he was bound to obey in all cases of importance, and without whose consent he could not grant us our freedom. On his part, however, he would use all his influence with the government in our favour, and to facilitate our return to Russia. With this view he had sent one of the principal officers of Matsmai to Yeddo, the capital, to endeavour to bring our affair to the wished-for issue. In the meanwhile he entreated us not to give way to despair, but to offer up prayers to Heaven,\* and

\* Whenever he said anything to console us, he recommended us to rely on God, a circumstance with which we were particularly pleased. It was satisfactory to reflect, that the people into whose power fate had consigned us, entertained a just idea of the Supreme Being, and placed faith in the Almighty Ruler of nations, before whom all must sooner or later render an account of their actions.

patiently to await the decision of the Emperor of Japan. When Alexei had finished his explanation, and the Japanese perceived that we understood him, our ropes were immediately taken off, and they all sincerely congratulated us. Two of the Japanese, present at this scene, were so moved that they shed tears. We returned thanks to the governor and officers for their kind wishes, and the sympathy they had testified for our misfortunes. The governor then retired, and we were conducted from the Hall of Justice. Our guards and attendants now wished us joy, as well as a number of persons, both of high and low rank, whom curiosity had attracted to the spot.

## CHAPTER V.

Temporary improvement in the treatment of the prisoners—Renewed suspicion—A new interpreter—The prisoners are required to teach the Russian language—A clever pupil—Angry scene—Curious anecdote related to Captain Golownin when at Portsmouth—Laborious process of translation—Trait of Japanese curiosity—Mysterious inscription—An epitaph—Names and titles—Drawings, paintings, and charts—Japanese curiosity respecting Christianity and its forms of worship—A man of science—False representations regarding Russia and England—An English ship in the harbour of Nangasaky—Fraudulent proceedings of Dutch traders—House allotted for the abode of the prisoners.

On returning to our prison, we found, to our astonishment, everything changed; and we could scarcely comprehend how so complete an alteration could have been effected in so short a time. The spars or railings in front of our cages were removed; the spaces which before served us for passages were thrown into the cages; the floor was laid with planks in the direction of its length, and covered with new mats, so that our prison was converted into a roomy hall, in which we could walk about and converse at our ease. Near the fire-place, wooden compartments were formed, and in them a teacup for each of us was placed; on the hearth stood copper kettles



with water for tea,\* and a pipe, with a little pouch of tobacco, was laid ready for each. Instead of lamps with fish-oil, we were allowed candles. We wondered not a little at this unexpected and rapid metamorphosis.

We had scarcely recovered from our astonishment, when several civil functionaries, accompanied by their children, came to visit us. They offered us their congratulations, seated themselves by the fire, and smoked and chatted with us. In a word, we seemed no longer prisoners, but guests. Supper was not handed to us as usual, in cups or basins, but was served up, according to the Japanese custom, on trays. The vessels used were entirely new, and a finer sort was allotted to the officers than to the sailors. The aliments were better than before, and the *sagi* was no longer dealt out to us in certain portions, in cups, but was placed before us, that we might fill it out as we pleased.

This kind treatment revived the hope of again seeing our country, and we passed a tranquil night, for the first time since our imprisonment. The two following days were spent in a manner equally gratifying, and we considered our speedy return to Russia as certain. But this pleasant state of things was not of long duration. New occurrences induced us to doubt the sincerity of the Japanese. We soon had to revert to our old meals, and nothing remained except the new utensils. The oil lamp again served to give us light, and the ropes, which had been removed,

\* The Japanese burn a fire on the hearth from morning till evening, both in winter and summer. Men and women sit round the fire and smoke tobacco. The kettles are never off the fire, as tea is their common beverage for quenching thirst. If they have no tea, they drink warm water, but never taste cold. Even their *sagi* they like better warm than cold.

were again hung up by our guards in their former place. We, besides, learned that the Commandant or Governor of Kunashier, who had entrapped us, his deputy, and the officer who gave us the letter in Eetooroop, had arrived at Matsmai, and that the bunyo had resolved to examine Alexei in their presence. From this we plainly perceived that the bunyo did not yet consider the investigation respecting us as brought to a conclusion. On Alexei's return from the castle, he told us that the bunyo had threatened him with death for the falsehood of his former declarations; but that he had firmly stated that he feared nothing, and was ready to die for the sake of truth. Upon hearing this the bunyo ceased to threaten, assumed a tone of good-humour, desired him to think no more on what had passed, and informed him that he would soon be called upon again for another examination.

Shortly after this, Kumaddschero brought to us a young man of twenty-five, named Murakami-Teske, and stated that the bunyo wished us to teach him Russian, in order that he might examine the translation of our manuscript, as the Japanese Government required that documents of this description should be certified by two interpreters. We asked what the declaration of the bunyo meant, when he pledged himself to better our situation, and to procure us our liberty. "The bunyo wishes to do what he has promised," replied Kumaddschero; "but the government requires that every paper should be translated by two interpreters." This statement vexed us not a little, and, as we believed it insincere, we answered the interpreter rather sharply, saying, that "We saw plainly the Japanese were deceiving us, and did not intend to set us free, because they wished to make use of us as teachers; but that they had made a great mistake. We were ready to die, but not to become



the instructors of the Japanese. Were they, however, in the first place, to assure us of the certainty of our return to Russia, we would labour day and night until the period of our departure, to teach them all we knew ; but after the deceit they had practised, we were not disposed to undertake any such task." Kumaddschero protested that there had been no deception, and that we could only think so in consequence of our ignorance of the Japanese laws. At last, Messrs. Moor, Chlebnikoff, and myself, consulted what we ought to do, and we resolved to give the new interpreter some instructions until the spring, by which time we should see whether or not the Japanese were inclined to grant us our liberty.

We had scarcely intimated our consent to give instructions to Teske, when he made his appearance, bringing with him a chest full of manuscripts, consisting of vocabularies, drawn up by Japanese who had been in Russia, together with information concerning that country : each of these individuals having been required to make a report to the government on everything he had seen. The physician Togo and Kumaddschero frequently visited us along with Teske. Kumaddschero informed me, that the bunyo wished us, in addition to teaching Teske the Russian tongue, to enable him to draw up a statistical account of Russia and other European states, and that the Japanese would be extremely thankful for that information. We considered, that in the present state of things, some advantage might arise, not only to ourselves, but even to Russia, by our communicating to the Japanese such facts as we thought it advisable to make them acquainted with, and we readily agreed to undertake this task. To avoid, however, being troubled with endless questions respecting trifles, we remarked, that persons

who, like ourselves, had spent most part of their lives at sea, could not be expected to give all the information respecting Russia which the Japanese might wish to obtain.\* We were then very politely informed, that the Japanese would be perfectly satisfied with such information as we were capable of giving them.

Teske showed extraordinary capacity even in the very first lessons we gave him. He had an excellent memory, and pronounced the Russian words with such facility, that we suspected he had previously learned the language, and was purposely concealing his knowledge of it, or, at least, that he was acquainted with some other European tongues. We had scarcely commenced to instruct him, when he remarked, that Kumaddschero did not pronounce the words in the same manner as we did, and quickly caught the correct sound: we had therefore to go over again the whole of the dictionary which Kumaddschero had drawn up, and he wrote above each word its pronunciation, according to the Japanese orthography.

Our pupils visited us daily, and remained with us from morning till night, leaving us only at the time they went to dinner. When the weather was bad they had their meals brought to them in the prison.† Teske soon learned

\* Among the English books sent to us, we found "Tooke's View of the Russian Empire," which contained almost everything of which the Japanese would have desired to be informed. We, however, concealed the real nature of that book from them, as we were afraid they would compel us to translate it. Other reasons also induced us to adopt this course.

† The Japanese make a distinction between a place of the kind in which we lived and a real prison. The former they call "Oksio," the latter "Ro." The difference, according to their account, consists in there being no fire in a prison, and in the prisoners receiving no allowance of tea tobacco or *sagi*; of the last of which we had every four or five

to read, and proceeded to enter in a vocabulary the words he had heard us speak, spelt in the Russian alphabetic character. This Kumaddschero never attempted to do; indeed Teske learned more in a day than he did in a fortnight. While collecting information from us respecting Russia, and other European countries, and with great diligence translating the whole into the Japanese, he never failed to enter the Russian words in his lexicon, and to annex to them his own remarks. He also endeavoured to ascertain whether the reports made by the Japanese who had been in Russia were correct. This gave him occasion to propose various questions to us.

We were now allowed the free use of pens, ink, and paper, and to write whatever we pleased; and we accordingly proceeded to make collections of Japanese words. We were, however, afraid to put our observations on paper, as we apprehended that the Japanese might, at some future time, take our manuscripts from us.

A few days after we became acquainted with Teske, he brought along with him his brother, a youth of fourteen, and told us that the bunyo desired that we should also teach him Russian. "Your bunyo may desire what he pleases," we sharply replied, "but we are not inclined to do whatever he may wish. We have already declared that we would rather sacrifice our lives than remain in Japan on any conditions, still less will we suffer the

days two teacups full given to us. In a Ro the food is also worse than in an Oksio. In the former, even the rice is only served out in limited quantities. The building, and the strictness with which the persons confined are guarded, are, however, the same in both places. We at first supposed that an Oksio was a place destined for prisoners of war, but we afterwards learned that Japanese were incarcerated in it. An Oksio may therefore be regarded as merely a prison of a superior kind.



Japanese to make pedagogues of us. We now plainly see the object of all the flattering assurances we have received. We were told that one interpreter was not sufficient for the translation of our memorial, the law requiring two; having consented to teach another, we are now required to instruct a boy. In this way a whole school will soon be formed, and that we will never agree to. We are few in number, and unarmed, and our lives may soon be taken, but we are resolved not to be made school-masters." This answer irritated Teske extremely. He became exceedingly angry; spoke, contrary to the custom of the Japanese, in a loud tone, and threatened that we should be compelled to do what we were ordered, whether we liked it or not. We, with equal warmth, defied any power that might be exercised over us; telling him that to put us to death was easy, but to force us to do what we were determined not to do was impossible. In this way the dispute was kept up for some time, and at last Teske withdrew, still in a violent passion.

We expected that this affair would be followed with some disagreeable consequences, but we experienced none. Next morning Teske came to us with a very friendly air, and apologized for the angry manner in which he had expressed himself on the preceding day, and for having thus indiscreetly given us offence. He attributed his conduct to a passionate temperament natural to him, and prayed that we would forget what had passed, and again become friends. We, on our part, also thought it prudent to apologize, and a reconciliation was of course soon accomplished. Teske now brought his brother with him, but merely in the quality of a visitor. Some days after, however, he again spoke of the bunyo's wish to make

him a Russian interpreter, and said, as if in jest, that it would be better for us if we consented to teach him. We replied, that if the Japanese desired to live in a state of peace and friendship with Russia, we would take his brother and several other youths home with us, where they would not only have the opportunity of learning the Russian language, but also a great many other useful branches of knowledge. After this he spoke no more on the subject.

Meanwhile, we could not learn whether the assurances the bunyo had given us were likely to be realized, but it appeared probable that the Japanese Government was not inclined to credit our statements. It was evident that doubts were entertained respecting the correctness of our translation of the letter from the officers of the 'Diana;' and the Japanese fell at last on the following expedient to discover whether we had not deceived them. They ruled some paper in four columns, in one of which they inserted, in alphabetic order, all the words of the letter, omitting only the words they already knew: such as, my name, the word Japanese, the names of the officers who subscribed the letter, &c. At the bottom of the paper there were some words which intimated that it was wished we should fill up the other columns with the meaning of each word in English, French, and Dutch. This paper, we were told, had been sent from the capital, but by whom the words were collected we were not informed. It was supposed that a Japanese who understood Dutch had drawn it up. On observing the artifice, we also deemed it prudent to dissemble: we pretended to have no idea whence these words had originated, and that we could extract no meaning from them, particularly as many of them were not Russian. We observed among the words some

that commenced with a C (the Russian S) in which an E was written instead of that letter.

From the form of the character we concluded that some European had written the manuscript,\* who, however, did not understand Russian, as besides the above-mentioned blunder, all the words were left in the same number and case as they stood in the letter, and, in some instances, N was changed into R. We, however, positively refused to comply with the request of the Japanese. We declared we had reason to believe, if we did write the words in the different languages required, that the Dutch interpreters, who were hostile to the Russians, would give them a meaning favourable to their own views. As proof that we had ground for this suspicion, we cited the acknowledgment of the Dutch themselves, that they had greatly contributed to the dispute between Resanoff and the Japanese; at the same time we offered to give a translation of any document, but would not explain detached words. We were immediately asked how the Dutch interpreters could know of any contention between them and Resanoff. We then gave an account of a letter found by an English ship on board of a Dutch prize. In that letter the Dutch boasted of having succeeded in imbuing the Japanese with an irreconcilable hatred of the Russians, stating that our embassy had been dismissed with such an answer as would put an end to all farther desire on the part of Russia to communicate with Japan.† On their asking why we had

\* Some time after Teske owned to us that a Dutchman, named Laxman, had written the words. This man, in consequence of receiving a large sum of money, had agreed never to return to his own country. He lived in Yeddo, the Japanese capital, and was employed in making astronomical observations, and in preparing charts.

† When the 'Diana' lay at Portsmouth, we formed acquaintance with



not sooner informed them of this circumstance, we answered that we doubted whether what we stated would be credited. We added, that we had no idea of the Dutch having interfered in any way in our affair; but since it now appeared that some reference must have been made to them on the subject, it was our wish not to afford them an opportunity of injuring us a second time. We then related some anecdotes of the conduct of the Dutch East and West India Companies, which afforded instances of the disregard of every principle of rectitude that stood in the way of the advantageous prosecution of commercial interests. For the truth of all that we stated, we appealed to an English work which was among the books that had been sent to us, and which detailed the transactions of those companies, in colours calculated to excite the strongest hatred and contempt of such rapacious

a prize agent of the name of Brown. On its being accidentally mentioned in the course of conversation, by Lieutenant Rikord, that Resanoff was dead, Mr. Brown observed, that it was as well he was gone, as the recollection of his having been so simple as to allow himself to be outwitted by the Dutch must have vexed him not a little. On Lieutenant Rikord asking him to explain himself more particularly, Mr. Brown made a statement to the following purport: A Dutch ship, bound from Batavia to Amsterdam, having been taken and brought into Portsmouth, her papers were, as usual, delivered to him. Among them he found a letter from the secretary of the council at Batavia to the Dutch Government, in which, after describing the situation of the Dutch in Nangasaky, and the proceedings of Resanoff's embassy, the writer stated that their interpreters had succeeded in turning everything to the advantage of the Dutch, and had given the Japanese such an idea of Russia, that they had dismissed Resanoff with an answer which would make the Russians think no more of sending ships to Japan. On our arrival at Kamtschatka, I made a report on this circumstance to the government, and I also communicated a copy of my report to the commissioner of the Russian American Company, that he might give information of this discovery to the directors.

traders. The Japanese now ceased to call upon us for the French, Dutch, and English words; but requested that we would explain to them clearly the meaning of each of the words in the first column, in order that they might fill up the blank columns with Japanese words of the same purport. This we could not refuse; and after the conclusion of the labour, which lasted several days, and gave us and the Japanese interpreters much trouble, we had to set about a translation of Chwostoff's paper, by the same process.

Meanwhile, we learned that the officer who was to proceed to the capital with a report of our case, was ready to set out on his journey, and that the bunyo wished at the same time to send some of our books to the Emperor. We were told, however, that it was intended we should be allowed the use of a few books, as a consolation during the tedious hours of our confinement; and we were desired to pick out such as we wished to retain. The interpreter actually brought us the chest with the books, and we laid some aside in the hope that we should be allowed to keep them; but how were we deceived! The Japanese marked those we had selected, packed them separately from the others, and finally carried off the chest, without leaving us a single book.

Whilst we were looking over the books, a circumstance occurred which embarrassed us not a little. Kumaddschero, in turning over the leaves of one of the volumes, found a piece of red paper, upon which were some Japanese words. It was one of the tickets which in Japan are usually attached to goods. I recollected that it had been given to me by one of our officers in Kamtschatka. Kumaddschero read the ticket, and asked where it had come from, and how it had got into my book? I said it was perhaps

Chinese; but I had got it accidentally in Kamtschatka, and had put it into my book as a mark. "Yes, yes," replied he, "it is Chinese," and put it again into the place in the book from which he had taken it. I was afraid lest this would occasion new investigations, and be regarded as evidence of our having participated in Chwostoff's depredations. It was, indeed, most singular that such a multitude of circumstances, though many of them were totally insignificant and unworthy of observation in any other case, should conspire to make this jealous, timid, and mistrustful people regard us as implicated in that unfortunate affair. I had accidentally been reading when this bit of paper was brought to me, and being in want of a mark at the moment, I used it for that purpose: by another accident this book had been put into one of the seven or eight chests which our shipmates had sent on shore to us. We often remarked among ourselves, that the writer of a romance could, with difficulty, surround his hero with as many unlucky events as those in which fate had actually involved us; and jesting with Mr. Moor, who was young and handsome, we used to advise him to try to win the affections of some distinguished Japanese lady, through whose aid we might be enabled to escape. Our adventures would then have been truly romantic—we only wanted a heroine to complete our story.

Before the departure of the officer for the capital we were conducted into the presence of the bunyo. He wished that we should show him how the Europeans wore hats and swords, and for this purpose a hat and sword were brought to us. His curiosity went so far, that he enquired what was denoted by officers wearing their cocked hats sometimes lengthwise, and sometimes crosswise; and he was surprised when we answered that they might on



parade wear their hats as they pleased, and that no distinction of rank was denoted thereby. He also asked how the sailors wore their hats.\* The bunyo then said, that it would be interesting to the inhabitants of the capital to be enabled to form a notion of the tall stature of the Russians, and therefore he wished to have us measured,† which we immediately agreed to. But Japanese curiosity was not yet satisfied. It was wished to have our portraits taken in full length; and Teske, who could draw, was appointed to execute them. He drew them in Indian ink, but in such a style, that each portrait would have passed for that of any other individual, as well as of the person it was intended for: except the long beard, we could trace no resemblance in them. The Japanese, however, sent them to the capital, where they were probably hung up in some of their galleries of pictures.

Two days before his departure, the officer‡ came to our

\* When we were seized at Kunashier, several of our sailors' hats accidentally fell off, and the Japanese cut them in several places with their swords. After we were imprisoned in the cages at Matsmai, they wished the sailors to sew their hats. The men declared that they could not without needles and scissors; that it was besides a difficult task, and the Japanese might undertake it themselves. They, however, insisted on the sailors doing what they required, and at length resolved to trust them with needles and scissors. The Japanese could, indeed, have done it much better than our sailors, as they are extremely expert in the execution of needle-work; but they probably wished to make it appear that the sailors had cut the hats themselves, fearing lest they might otherwise be called to account for the damage. We afterwards had frequent opportunities of observing the cunning and dissimulation of these people in little affairs of this sort.

† In Europe the two officers and myself would have been looked upon as men of the middle stature; but we were giants among the Japanese. What then must they have thought of our sailors, who would have made no bad appearance even in the imperial guard.

‡ We had never before been visited by a civil officer of such high

prison, as he said, for the purpose of taking leave of us, and of observing how we were provided for, so that he might communicate some information to the government on this particular. He assured us that he would do all in his power to bring our affair to a happy issue, and took his leave, after having wished us good health. At the end of December he departed from Matsmai, taking along with him the commander of Kunashier, his deputy, the officer who had given us the letter at Eetooroop, and the Kurile interpreter, who had served us in our communications with the Japanese on that island.

After his departure we hoped we should be allowed some rest; but we were disappointed. The more progress Teske made in his knowledge of the Russian language, the more trouble he gave us: he was, however, a kind and generous-hearted creature. He frequently informed us of things which Kumaddschero never hinted at; and the latter frequently checked him when he thought he was too unreserved in his communications. He was once going to relate to us something respecting Laxman, the Dutchman, who resided at the capital: Kumaddschero, however, muttered a few words between his teeth, and Teske was immediately silent. Teske was evidently more attached to us than any other Japanese. He seldom visited us without bringing along with him, as a present, something which he considered a dainty; and we had to thank him for many of the favours we experienced from

rank: he was styled a Ginmiyago, and was one of the five counsellors of the Governor of Matsmai. Two of these counsellors are allowed to reside, by way of indulgence, in the capital; two live with the governor, and the other has the command of Chakodade. They are appointed to fill the latter office in rotation, and exchange annually with those who reside in the capital.

*Ginmi-yaku: Judicial Examiner. Not  
25 high-ranking 25 3  
50470*

the governor. We now learned that Teske filled the office of secretary to the governor, with whom he stood in high favour, and that he exerted all his influence to our advantage, though we frequently quarrelled together. Our disputes were chiefly occasioned by his unbounded curiosity, which certainly was extremely troublesome.

We now thought ourselves fairly rid of all our translations; but the Japanese adhered to their grand maxim, that nothing should be done hastily and off-hand, but everything gradually. Teske and Kumaddschero brought to us the following inscription on Japanese paper: "The Russian frigate 'Juno' visited this place, and named it the Village of Doubt." We were informed that Chwostoff had left such an inscription on a copper-plate in a pagoda in one of the Japanese villages. They wished that we should explain its meaning. Here we had new difficulties to encounter. How were we to translate this name, Village of Doubt; and why was the place so called? When we succeeded in explaining the word Doubt, the Japanese themselves doubted whether they had not misunderstood our meaning, as they supposed it impossible that in such a case the word could have been so applied. We, on our part, were equally unable to form any notion of the sense in which Chwostoff had used the expression. When we assured them that no Russian could explain the meaning of the writer of the inscription, they suspected that we wished to deceive them, and to conceal something which might tend to our own disadvantage. This business occupied us several days. We were next required to translate an epitaph, which the pilot Lovzoff had engraved upon the trunk of a tree at Nemuro, under which a sailor had been buried, who died during the time that Laxman wintered in that place. This task,



however, was completed in an hour; for the Japanese had, doubtless, been informed of the meaning of this inscription by Laxman himself, and were satisfied on finding that our explanation corresponded with his.

The Japanese kept us constantly employed in translating, with the view of making themselves acquainted with the Russian language, but still more out of curiosity and distrust. They brought to us, for example, a copy of the communication which Resanoff had brought to Japan from our Emperor. Of the heading of the document in which the Emperor of Japan was mentioned, they could understand only the words "of Nippon:" they assured us that their Emperor had never borne such a title, and were unable to divine what had induced the Russians to make use of it.

When we made inquiries respecting his real title, we were informed that it was extremely long, and difficult to remember. In like manner the Emperor's name was concealed from us. Without any direct refusal to make us acquainted with it, every individual to whom we addressed ourselves for information on this point gave us a different answer, so that we could never learn the Emperor's real name. We, however, understood, that, according to the Japanese laws, no subject could bear the name of the reigning Emperor,\* and that every individual who may

\* The Japanese have both family names and proper names; but the former are always placed before the latter. For instance, "Wechara" is a family name, and "Kumaddschero" a proper name; yet our interpreter was called "Wechara-Kumaddschero." In familiar conversation both names are seldom mentioned; and, in the same way as in confidential discourse, only one name is used when they address any individual to whom they wish to show particular respect. In the latter case, however, they make use of the word "Sama," which is equivalent to the title

happen to have the same name as the hereditary prince, is obliged to adopt a new one when the Prince ascends the throne. In the document brought by Resanoff mention was made of all the presents sent from the Russian court to the Emperor of Japan. We had learned from Captain Krusenstern's Narrative that all these things had been exhibited to the Japanese, and yet our interpreter asked us to give him a description of them. We afterwards found that they had in their possession a minute description of these articles, not merely specifying the size and use of each, but likewise mentioning the time and place at which they had been manufactured. They showed us this description, from which they translated several passages. The cunning of the Japanese is truly astonishing. When they wish to discover anything, they put their questions in such a way as would induce a belief that they entertain not the slightest notion of it, and have heard it mentioned for the first time in their lives.

In addition to the Russian papers of which the Japanese wished to have translations, Teske and Kumaddschero brought us a number of other things, and some translations of European books, of which they requested

Mr., and place it either after the family name or proper name: as, "Wechara Sama," or "Teske Sama," &c. The Japanese likewise attach other meanings to this word "Sama." It corresponds with our words Lord, God, ruler, and master: for example, "Tento-Sama" signifies the Lord in Heaven "Kumbo-Sama," the Japanese political emperor ("Kumbo" is the name of the present reigning family). "Kin-Rai-Sama" is the Japanese spiritual emperor; for "Kin-Rai" is his family name; and "Obunjo-Sama" is Lord Governor. "Sama" however, is not attached to any other titles: they never say "Ginmiyagu-Sama," &c. I must likewise observe, that this word is pronounced in the same way in all the above cases, although the spelling varies in each.

us to state our opinion. They were very anxious for the translations; and our communication with them on those subjects afforded us many opportunities of remarking their distrustful disposition. Among other things, they showed us a Chinese painting, representing the city of Canton, where flags were flying on the factories of different European nations, and they asked us how it happened that the Russian flag was not there. We told them the reason of this, and they then enquired why we had intended to enter a harbour in which there were no Russian merchants. They were not a little astonished, and would scarcely credit what we said, when we told them, that in such cases the people of Europe were accustomed to assist each other, to whatever nation they might happen to belong.

Teske, besides, showed us the drawing of a brass eighteen pounder, which had been cast in Holland. He made a great parade about it, and told us that the Japanese had taken it along with many other pieces of cannon, after a great victory, which they had gained during their last war with the Coreans, about two hundred years ago. We, however, perceived, from a Latin inscription, that it had been cast scarcely a century ago, for the Dutch East India Company; but that we might not put Teske to the blush, we expressed much admiration of the valour of the Japanese. He, besides, showed us a drawing of the *Nadeschda*, in which Resanoff had sailed to Nangasaky, and inquired what was meant by the flag at the stern of that vessel, and other European flags, which Captain Krusenstern had probably hoisted for the purpose of ornamenting his ship. But we were most of all astonished on seeing some charts, which had been executed by the Japanese whom Resanoff brought with him from St. Petersburg, and which described the ship's



course. On these maps were marked Denmark, England, the Canary Islands, Brazil, Cape Horn, the Marquesas Islands, Kamtschatka, and Japan: in a word, every sea through which they had sailed, and every coast they had visited. The distance and situations of places were, it is true, quite inaccurate; but when it is considered that these men were, probably, only common sailors, that they had executed these charts from recollection, and that the situation of the sun was their only guide in determining in what quarter of the world they were sailing, this inaccuracy is no evidence against the general capability of the Japanese.

Teske informed us that a number of Japanese translations of European books had been sent from the capital, in order that we might examine them, and pronounce our opinion of them. He added, that as nothing had yet been decided in our favour, the governor did not wish to distress us, but merely requested that we would compare three of these translations and that the rest might remain until he received orders for our liberation, in case we should then have time to inspect them. The following are the titles of the three books which Teske named:

"Benyowsky's Conspiracy and Escape from Kamtschatka." "An Account of the Expedition of the Russians and English to Holland in the year 1799." and "Geography of the Russian Empire."

Teske paid but little attention to the two first mentioned books, but he read the last from beginning to end. We constantly found it necessary to make observations and corrections on this work, which was a description of Russia at a period in which the country was in a very rude state; and though the remarks it contained were for the most part correct, yet they related to our ancestors, and not to us. The Japanese, who adhere to their old

laws and customs with a most extraordinary pertinacity, were unable to conceive how a whole nation could have undergone so great a change in such a short period.

Our religion was likewise a subject which excited the curiosity of the Japanese. Teske requested, in the name of the governor, that we would make him acquainted with the doctrine of our faith, and on what it was founded. As a reason for making this solicitation, he said that the Governor of Nangasaky, the place which is visited by the Dutch, was very well acquainted with their religion, and it would be very discreditable to the Governor of Matsmai to return to the capital without being able to state any particulars respecting ours.

We were very willing to communicate to them the moral tenets of the Christian religion, the ten commandments, and even to give them some notion of the Gospel; but this was not what the Japanese wanted. They told us that these principles were not peculiar to Christians, but that they were common to all individuals who had good hearts;\* and that the Japanese themselves had long been familiar with them. They most particularly wished to be made acquainted with our form of worship, as their countrymen who had been in Russia had frequently visited our churches, and had written down all the observations they made respecting the liturgy. They asked us why the priests several times opened and shut a door, and what was contained in the goblets which they brought out, &c. But these were circumstances which, with the limited means we possessed of making ourselves understood, we found it impossible to explain. We, therefore, observed,

\* According to the Japanese idiom, "white hearts:" they call an individual of bad character a man with a "black heart."

that in order to make them acquainted with the principles of our faith, it was necessary either that we should speak Japanese perfectly well, or they understand Russian better; and that, since both parties were deficient in these requisites, we dared not undertake to communicate with them on matters of such importance; since they might probably imbibe false notions of our religion, and even be led to regard as ridiculous, things which are sacred. But we did not thus get rid of the importunity of the Japanese. They continually repeated their questions concerning our mode of worship; and we were, at length, compelled positively to declare, that we would not converse on these matters until we were fully competent to understand each other.

Even Alexei was not left unemployed. The Japanese endeavoured to extract information from him respecting the Kurile Islands, of which they made him draw maps in the best way he could. Alexei blotted abundance of papers, and furnished ample contributions for the geographical depôts of the Japanese. They said that their laws required that they should seek information from all foreigners who visited them, and observe and write down everything, whether true or false, which they might be told. They alleged, that by comparing the different accounts they thus received, they were enabled to separate truth from fiction, and to derive much advantage from this practice.

When we inquired whether any news that concerned us had arrived from the capital, the interpreters usually replied that they did not know; sometimes, however, they assured us that the investigation of our case was going on well, and that we had reason to expect a favourable issue. In January, Teske, and afterwards, Kumadd-



schero, told us as a secret, that the bunyo had received orders to remove us to a commodious house, and to render our situation altogether more comfortable; and that our removal would take place on the Japanese new-year's day.\* We had previously received the same information from our guards; but as they had often made statements which never were realized, we supposed that this was only a new invention with which they wished to console us. We, however, believed the interpreters, and rejoiced, not at the idea of the improved accommodation, but because of the increased kindness with which we were treated, afforded a ray of hope that we might ultimately be permitted to return to our country. We, therefore, looked forward to the month of February with the greatest impatience.

The bunyo wished to present us with new clothes on the approach of the new year, and ordered that we should be consulted respecting the colours and materials, and also the form in which we might wish them to be made. We thanked him for his attention, but wished to decline his offer, as we had already a superfluity of clothes, and needed no addition to our wardrobe while in prison. He, however, persisted, and the interpreter took away Mr. Chlebnikoff's uniform coat for a pattern. After some days had elapsed new clothes were brought to us. Those intended for the officers were made of taffety, with linings of the same, and wadded; but the dress provided for me was green, while those given to Mr. Chlebnikoff and Mr.

\* At this time the Japanese new year commenced on the 1st of February. As they reckon by lunar years, but supply the difference between the lunar and solar reckoning, by adding a thirteenth month to each year of the proper number for that intercalation, their new-year's day corresponds every nineteen years with the solar new year.

Moor were brown.\* The sailors received wadded cotton clothes of a grey colour. The Japanese could not imitate the fashion of our uniforms. They perceived themselves the want of resemblance, and expressed astonishment at the skill of the European tailors.

It became the practice, after the alterations had been made in our prison, for the guards to be constantly beside us; they sat down with us at the fire, smoked tobacco, and chatted. They were in general extremely friendly, giving us comfits, fine tea, and other delicacies; but all this was privately, as they were prohibited from making us any presents without the permission of their officers. One of these men, who spoke the Kurile tongue, told us, as a secret, that the pelt-hunters who ran away from Chwo-stoff, on the Island of Eetooroop, had, after the departure of the ship, been found intoxicated on the shore, and were killed by Kuriles. The Japanese Government was very much displeased with this; for though perhaps they would have ordered them to be executed, they believed their premature death had deprived them of much important information, which might, perhaps, long since have brought about a reconciliation between Russia and Japan. We learned likewise, that an Aleute, named Jacoff, had escaped from

\* Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff often wore the clothes which the Japanese provided for us; but I always appeared in my frieze jacket and trousers. The bunyo asked me why I did not wear the articles with which I had been furnished, and supposed, that because I was the commander, I wished to be dressed differently from the inferior officers. I smiled at this idea, and observed, that in Russia the colour and material of our dress were the same, as he might see by inspecting our uniforms, in which the only distinction to be found consisted in marks, which denoted our respective ranks. It is probable, however, that he still retained his opinion, as he, on this occasion, ordered my dress to be made of a different colour from the rest.

Chwostoff, at Sagaleen, and had died there, some time since. His statements were calculated to contribute not a little to our justification; for he maintained, that the Company's ships had attacked the Japanese without any superior authority; declaring, that he was assured of this by all the Russians who were on board of those vessels.

We learned from Alexei, that the Japanese had for several years carried on war against the Kuriles inhabiting the mountains in the northern parts of Matsmai; and, that, unable to subdue them by force, they resolved to obtain their object by artifice and treachery. They accordingly made proposals of peace, which the Kuriles accepted with the greatest joy; and it was agreed that the treaty should be publicly celebrated. The Japanese built for that purpose a large house, and to an entertainment given in it, forty of the Kurile chiefs, and a number of their bravest warriors, were invited. The Kuriles, who are fond of ardent liquors, were easily prevailed upon by their new friends to drink freely: the Japanese, on their part, feigned intoxication, and gradually withdrew. When they were all out of the house, the doors were closed, and the Japanese murdered their guests by shooting them with arrows, through apertures prepared for that purpose in the walls. They then cut off the heads of the Kuriles, salted them, and sent them to the capital as trophies of victory.

This was a story which could not have failed to excite horror in men at perfect liberty; what feelings, then, was it calculated to rouse in us, who were in the power of a people capable of perpetrating so perfidious and atrocious a deed? Poor Alexei excused himself for not having given us this information before, by saying, that he was



afraid it would distress us; he added, that he could describe several similar transactions of the Japanese.

Meanwhile, February arrived, and the Japanese new year commenced, but we heard not a word about our promised new residence. We supposed that the Japanese, who were busy keeping their holidays, could not find time to think of us, and we therefore, presumed that our removal would not take place before the middle of the month.

The Japanese occupy an entire month in celebrating the new year; though the period of the festival, strictly speaking, is only from the new to the full moon, or a fortnight. During this period the courts are closed; all labour and business are suspended, and nothing except visiting and feasting is thought of; but, in the remaining half of the month, the more industrious resume their occupations. The new year is the principal festival in the calendar of the Japanese. They, therefore, make extraordinary preparations at its approach, and procure new clothes for it, as we do at Easter. Custom requires that each person should visit all his acquaintances in the place in which he resides, and send letters of congratulation to those at a distance. Our interpreters and guards were accordingly employed for some days previous to the festival, in writing complimentary letters and visiting cards. On the latter, the names of the person from whom the card comes, and to whom it is delivered, are written; and also the opportunity by which it is presented is described. Teske translated for us one of his congratulatory letters. It was addressed to the officer at Kunashier, by whom we had been entrapped, and was to the following effect:—

“ Last year you were happy, and I much wish that in

this new year you may also enjoy good health, and experience happiness and prosperity in every undertaking. I still continue to respect you as formerly, and request that you will not forget me.

“TESKE.”

Some time having elapsed, and no preparation being made for our removal, we began to think we had been deceived by false promises, especially as our comforts were now less cared for than before. We were supplied with nothing but rice and salt fish for our meals. During the first five or six days of the new year's festival, neither the interpreters nor any officer visited us. When we saw the former, we reproached them with having deceived us. Kumaddschero assured me that the reason we had not been removed from the prison was, that the fish at that season approached the coast, and that all the inhabitants were, from morning till night, busily engaged in the fishery. The consequence was, that men could not be found to clear away the snow, which had nearly buried up to the roof the house allotted for us, as it had been all the winter unoccupied. We regarded this excuse as merely evasive, for it was difficult to believe that in a town, the population of which amounted to fifty thousand, men could not be found to do the work alluded to. We now felt quite certain that the Japanese were practising deception for the purpose of tranquillizing us, and gradually reconciling us to our fate. We spoke our minds frankly on this subject to the interpreters; but they assured us that we were labouring under a mistake. The bunyo now took the opportunity of conferring upon us two favours. He sent us some of our books to read, and razors that we might shave ourselves. Our beards were very long, and



their growth was at first exceedingly disagreeable, but we were now accustomed to the inconvenience; and Mr. Chlebnikoff and I refused to avail ourselves of the permission to shave, especially as it was required we should perform the operation in the presence of an officer and other guards, lest we should commit suicide. The Japanese at first left it to us to shave or not, as we pleased; but when they found that Mr. Chlebnikoff and I did not use the razors, they intimated a disposition to compel us, telling us that the bunyo wished to see us without our beards. We replied, that it was the bunyo's duty to do us justice, whether we appeared before him with or without our beards.

At last, we learned from the interpreters, that our case was not on the most favourable footing in the capital. Teske told us that all the officers in Matsmai, and even all the inhabitants of that town were convinced of the truth of our declarations; but that the members of the supreme government did not share that opinion. They believed that the interpreter, Kumaddscher, was not sufficiently well acquainted with Russian to give a correct translation of our answers and our memorial, particularly as his version of the latter was in several passages totally unintelligible. We asked Teske what he thought the government intended to do with us? He answered, that nothing was yet decided on, but that many persons were of opinion we should be set at liberty. We could plainly perceive that it was his wish to avert our despair, and, consequently, his assurances afforded us little consolation. We all concurred in opinion, that there was no hope of our being set at liberty by the Japanese; and that our only means of deliverance was flight. Mr. Moor, and the two sailors, Simanoff and Wassiljeff, would

by no means consent to attempt this desperate course, though Mr. Chlebnikoff and I did all we could to persuade them to it. We endeavoured to convince them that it was not impossible to escape from the place of our confinement, to make ourselves masters of a vessel on the sea-shore, and then, with the help of Heaven, to proceed to Kamtschatka, or the coast of Tartary, as circumstances might permit. We admitted the undertaking to be difficult, but not totally desperate and impracticable. Since storms had repeatedly driven Japanese vessels to the Russian coasts, why, we asked, might we not hope to reach the point to which we should be steering? But all our arguments and representations were in vain. Mr. Moor absolutely refused to enter into our design, and, together with the two sailors, turned a deaf ear to all our persuasions. In the hope, however, that they might one day or other be induced to join in the project, we began to collect a store of provisions. Unperceived by our guards, we daily laid by a portion of our boiled rice; and, during the night, when it had become dry, we deposited it in small bags.

Meanwhile the spring season set in. The days became longer; and the cold, which gradually diminished, was superseded by the genial rays of the sun. At the commencement of March, we were, by order of the bunyo, frequently permitted to walk in the yard. On the 4th of that month, Teske informed us that it would be much better were we permitted to go to the capital, where we might have an opportunity of convincing the members of the government of the truth of our memorial, and of interceding for our liberation, as it was very doubtful whether that object would be attained without our personal appearance there.

We now learned from Teske a circumstance of considerable importance. He told us that Chwostoff, during his first attack, had carried off some Japanese, whom he detained at Kamtschatka during the winter. In the following year, however, he landed them on the Island of Lissel (Pic de Langle), giving them a paper addressed to the Governor of Matsmai, which would be shown to us in course of time. Teske either could not or would not inform us by whom this paper was signed; but as the Japanese had already, as we believed, shown us every bit of paper on which any Russian words were written, (even the prayers distributed by the Kuriles), and had anxiously required translations, yet no mention had been made of this paper. We, therefore, suspected that it must be a hostile declaration of Chwostoff. We thought it highly probable that Teske was acquainted with the contents of this paper, and that the Japanese concealed it from us, under the supposition that they could, in the end, fully convict us of deception. What, then, could we urge in our justification? Teske had no sooner quitted us, than Mr. Moor declared that he perceived plainly all the horrors of our situation, and was ready to attempt his escape along with us: Simanoff and Wassiljeff expressed the same determination.

One thing only remained doubtful—whether it would be prudent to trust Alexei with our secret, and persuade him to escape along with us, or whether we should leave him behind. We feared to make him acquainted with our design, lest he might betray us; and, on the other hand, we were distressed at the idea of abandoning him to endure the punishment which the Japanese would not fail to inflict upon him. We at first resolved to leave a letter, addressed to the governor, assuring him of Alexei's inno-

cence. Mr. Moor, however, was of opinion that it would be best to make him acquainted with our plan, and to take him along with us, as we might find him extremely useful, owing to his knowledge of various edible roots and herbs, and his experience in navigating the waters of that part of the world. We accordingly unfolded our design to him. He at first testified the utmost amazement, changed colour, and was unable to utter a syllable; but quickly recovering himself, he declared that he was as good a Russian as any one of us; that he acknowledged the same God and Emperor; that he was ready to escape along with us; and though we might be swallowed up by the waves, or put to death by the Japanese, he would share every danger we might encounter. We were not a little astonished at Alexei's resolution and firmness, and we now began earnestly to deliberate on the means of carrying our design into execution.

There were two modes in which we might succeed in effecting our escape from the prison. Two of the soldiers who were appointed to guard us, usually sat sound asleep by the fire until midnight; and some of the others were so addicted to drinking strong liquors, that they frequently came to us in a state of intoxication when they supposed there was no danger of their being detected by their superiors. During the night, and taking advantage of a favourable wind, it would be easy suddenly to seize our guards, and bind and gag them to prevent their giving any alarm. Having possessed ourselves of their sabres, and climbed over the fence into the hollow, we might stealthily reach the sea-shore, and there endeavour to make ourselves masters of a boat, in which we might sail to the coast of Tartary. But on further consideration, we



relinquished this project, and devised another plan. At midnight, our guards, having closed our doors, were accustomed to retire to the guard-room, where they generally fell asleep, not thinking it necessary to watch us with that degree of rigour which they had at first observed. At the further corner of the guard-room was a small door, which was kept fast locked and sealed; but as we had in our possession a large and sharp knife, we might cut through the beam to which the hinges were affixed. Having effected our escape from the guard-room, we might soon cross the fence, or wooden wall, by means of a ship-ladder, which we had made out of a sail-cloth hammock.\* That we might not be totally unarmed, we intended, before attempting our enterprise, to make pikes out of some long poles on which our linen was hung to dry after it had been washed.

We waited with impatience for the first favourable night to attempt the execution of our plan. At length, on the 8th of March, the wind began to blow from the east, accompanied by fogs and rain,† and we trusted that if it continued without change for a few days, we might reach the Tartar coast, in case we succeeded in gaining possession of a boat. At the approach of twilight, we began secretly to make preparations, unperceived by our guards; but night had no sooner set in, than the clouds

\* When we were seized at Kunashier, a seaman's hammock happened to lie under a sail in our boat. We afterwards requested the Japanese to give us the sail instead of a coverlet; but this they refused to do. Whilst we were in Chakodade, however, they gave one of the sailors this hammock, which we converted into a ladder.

† In these parts, fogs are the never-failing attendants of an easterly wind.



dispersed, the stars began to twinkle, and the wind veered round to the west. We were thus compelled to postpone our attempt.

After the lapse of two days, the wind again set in a favourable direction, and the weather was as fine as we could wish. Mr. Chlebnikoff expressed a hope that on the following night, with God's help, we should attempt the execution of our plan. Mr. Moor now, to our great astonishment and vexation, declared that though he would neither dissuade us from our purpose, nor do anything to prevent our carrying it into effect, yet that, for his own part, he was resolved to submit to the destiny which awaited him, and would never make any attempt for secretly effecting his liberation. We endeavoured to prevail on him to resume his former determination, and conjured him to reflect on the inconsistency of his conduct; but all our representations were of no avail. He replied, with some degree of warmth, that he would place no obstacle in the way of our escape, which we might effect without him; and desired us never more to mention the business to him, since all our arguments and persuasions would be to no purpose.

From that moment a complete change took place in Moor's manner and behaviour. He avoided entering into conversation with us, and when we spoke to him he would answer us shortly, and sometimes even with ill-humour, though, to the Japanese, he adopted quite an opposite mode of conduct. He began to imitate their customs: he no longer addressed the officers in the European way, as he before used to do, but spoke to them as if they had been his superiors, and treated them with a degree of respect, and even veneration, which excited the amazement and risibility of the Japanese themselves.

In this critical situation I scarcely knew how to act. — I, however, determined on requiring that Mr. Moor should promise, on oath, not to make known our escape until the morning after it should be effected ; and that in return, we would leave behind us a letter to the governor, and pledge ourselves, in the event of our being retaken, to declare that he, Moor, had no knowledge of our enterprise. The sailors, however, were of opinion that no reliance could be placed on Moor's assurances, and they related so many strange things respecting that officer, that I was at length convinced it would be unsafe to trust him. The interpreter having assured us that when the warm weather set in we should be permitted to walk about the city, escorted by a party of Japanese, we resolved to delay the execution of our enterprise, in the hope that we might likewise be conducted to the outskirts of the city, where we might find an opportunity of effecting our liberation by force ; we should then have no reason to fear Moor. He had not hitherto manifested any intention of discovering our design to the Japanese ; we therefore pretended that we had, like him, relinquished every thought of escape, and had come to the determination of patiently awaiting the issue of our fate ; he did not, however, alter his suspicious conduct.

Meanwhile, we formed acquaintance with a geometrician and astronomer, named Mamia-Rinso, who had been sent from the Japanese capital. The first time he came to visit us, he was accompanied by our interpreter, who informed us that he had shortly before quitted Yeddo, from whence the government, by the advice of a physician, skilled in the European mode of practice, had sent us some medicines to prevent the scurvy, a disorder extremely prevalent and dangerous in Japan. These medicines consisted of two flasks of lemon-juice, a number of lemons and oranges,

And a considerable quantity of dried herbs, of very fragrant Odour, and which, by directions of the Japanese, we sprinkled in our soup. The bunyo, besides, took this Opportunity of sending us three or four pounds of brown sugar, and a box full of red pepper in husks, boiled in sugar, of which the Japanese are very fond.\* But we quickly discovered that these presents were intended to persuade, or rather to force us to communicate to the Japanese geometricians our methods of taking nautical and astronomical observations. To this end he was continually making solicitations. He showed us his instruments, consisting of an English sector and astrolabe, with a compass, a case of mathematical instruments, and quicksilver for forming the artificial horizon, and requested that we would show him how the Europeans used these things. He visited us every day, and frequently remained with us from morning till evening, during which time he gave us an account of his travels, and produced his plans and sketches of the different countries he had visited. We inspected them with the greatest curiosity. The Japanese looked upon him as a very learned man; and always listened to him with the utmost attention, wondering how he could have travelled to so many different places. He had visited all the Kurile Islands, as far as the seventeenth, Sagaleen, and even the land of Mandshuren, and had sailed through the river Amur. He evinced much self-complacency, however, by a constant boasting of the deeds he had performed, and the labours he had endured. In recounting his adventures, he showed us his travelling pan, in which he cooked his food when on his journeys. He daily

\* The bunyo had before frequently sent us presents of sugar, pepper, and such articles.

stewed or boiled something on our fire, and gave us a portion of it. He had a small still, of which he made spirits from rice. Of this liquor he drank freely himself, and shared it as readily with us, to the no little satisfaction of our sailors. He could ascertain the sun's height, from the natural or artificial horizon, with his sector, and knew how to find the latitude of a place by observing the sun's altitude at noon. In his calculations he used some tables of declination, and other helps of that kind, which he said had been translated into Japanese from a Dutch book. As we had none of our tables in our possession, we could not well decide on the accuracy of those he employed.

Soon after our acquaintance with this man, we learned that he was not only celebrated among the Japanese for his learning, but was regarded as a most distinguished warrior. He was in the Island of Eetooroop at the time that Chwostoff landed, and fled with some soldiers to the mountains. He was, however, struck by a Russian ball, and received a flesh wound, from the effects of which he soon recovered. This wound proved fortunate for him, since it was the means of procuring him promotion and a pension. He declared, that after Chwostoff's attack, the Japanese had it in contemplation to send three ships to Okotzk, for the purpose of razing that place to the ground. We used to laugh at this boast, observing that we were sorry the Japanese had not sent thither thirty or even three hundred ships, instead of three, as we were certain none of them would ever have got back. He, on his part, appeared offended at this observation, and asserted that the Japanese were not inferior in war to other nations. I must here remark, that this was the first Japanese who ventured, in our presence, to swagger and assume importance on account of his military skill, and his vapouring excited the risi-



bility not only of ourselves but even of his own countrymen. He had heard, that besides ascertaining the latitude by the sun's altitude, the longitude could be found by lunar and astral observations, and he wished us to show him how that was done. We were, however, unable to comply with his request, as we had not the necessary tables, and could not make ourselves understood on such subjects with all the assistance of our interpreters. He showed great displeasure at our refusal, and said that Japanese men of learning would soon arrive, with Dutch interpreters from the capital, to extract explanations from us on scientific subjects, and that we would be compelled to answer their questions.

This news was not very consoling, for it indicated that the Japanese intended to force us to give them instruction. Mr. Moor had voluntarily offered his services in that way, but had declined teaching mathematics on the ground of inability. He advised the Japanese to resort to Mr. Chlebnikoff for instruction in mathematical science, as he was well acquainted with that branch of knowledge.

Though Mamia-Rinso was decidedly inimical to us, yet we sometimes conversed with him in an apparently friendly manner on various subjects. He maintained that the Japanese had well-founded reasons for believing that the Russians entertained evil designs upon them, and that the Dutch had spoken truth in their information respecting several European courts. Teske, however, was not of this opinion. He believed that the Dutch had designedly infused suspicion into the Japanese Government against the Russians and the English. The Dutch had represented that Russia and England, then united against France and her allies, had determined to extend their power towards the East; that England acting by sea, and



Russia by land, and reciprocally supporting each other, had for their ultimate object to divide China and Japan between them. As proofs of this intention, the Dutch cited the progress which those nations had within a short time made in their approaches towards Japan; Russia being in possession of Siberia and the Aleute islands, and England of India. Captain Broughton, who twice visited the Japanese coasts, and on both occasions had intercourse with the natives, performed these voyages at the time when Russia and England were at war with France and Holland; and, according to Teske's statement, the Dutch then alleged that the English were examining the Japanese harbours with the view of afterwards attacking them. We protested that this notion was groundless, and we endeavoured to explain to the Japanese the real cause of Captain Broughton's visits to their shores, which was well known to the Dutch. We also sought to convince them that the false representations of that people originated in selfishness and jealousy, as they were afraid that the Japanese might consent to a commercial intercourse with England and Russia, whereby they would be deprived of the immense advantages they derived from their fraudulent traffic, and the sale of trifling articles at a most exorbitant price. Teske agreed with me, and appeared firmly persuaded that the representations of the Dutch proceeded solely from avarice and envy; but Mamia-Rinso still retained his favourable opinion of them. Teske detailed to us a transaction which had rendered the Japanese Government so inimical to the English, that he was of opinion, if a ship of that nation arrived on the coast, the crew would be liable to be dealt with as we had been.

One or two years after Resanoff's departure, a large ship, under Russian colours, appeared at the entrance of

the harbour of Nangasaky. Some Dutchmen and Japanese were, by order of the governor, sent on board, where the former, one man excepted, were detained. The Japanese with this one Dutchman, were directed to return ashore with a notification that the vessel was an English ship; that the rest of the Dutch were kept on board in consequence of the two nations being at war, and that they would be carried off as prisoners, unless the Japanese supplied the ship with a certain number of bullocks and pigs. While waiting for an answer, the English sailed up and down the harbour in boats, and made soundings. Meanwhile the Dutch in Nangasaky persuaded the governor to pay the ransom demanded, and their countrymen were sent on shore. The governor had to atone with his life for his conduct in this affair; and orders were immediately issued to act hostilely against the English wherever they might be found.

On our remarking that the Dutch cheated the Japanese by selling them wretched merchandise at high prices, Teske replied that his government was perfectly sensible of that; but, nevertheless, would not alter the old arrangements. In our conversation on this subject, he related the following anecdote. The war with England having prevented the Dutch from trading direct to Japan, they freighted ships with valuable cargoes for that country in the United States of America. These ships entered Nangasaky under the Dutch flag. The cargoes were delivered before the Japanese began to take particular notice that both these ships and their crews differed very much in appearance from the vessels and seamen they had been accustomed to see. But suspicion was in particular excited by the superior quality of the goods, which were, in fact, all English. The

government, on discovering this, immediately ordered the ships to be reloaded and dismissed from the harbour.

About the middle of the month of March, the governor gave us permission to walk about the town and its environs. We twice made excursions to the distance of four leagues, accompanied by five or six imperial, and three or four principality soldiers, under the direction of one of the interpreters. Besides this escort, we were attended by several servants, who carried our tea-equipage, sagi, mats, and not unfrequently provisions for our dinner. A police officer from the town was also attached to our escort; he preceded us, and pointed out the road we were to take.

The Japanese often took us four wersts from the town to the hills, and along the sea-coast. We perceived that it would not be difficult to break loose from our guards, by using their own arms against them.\* The question, however, was, whither should we then fly? We resolved to wait for an opportunity when there should be a vessel of some kind on the coast, to which we might push off; and for that reason we always requested the Japanese to take us along the shore. We did not forget, at the same time, to carry our supply of provisions with us. On these occasions Mr. Moor, who could not fail to conjecture our design, would complain of pain in his feet, and begged our escort not to go so far from the town.

At the latter end of March, the interpreter and our guards again informed us that we should soon be released

\* The Japanese constantly wear a sabre and a dagger at the girdle; but when they sit down in a house they usually lay their sabre on the floor beside them. The dagger, however, is seldom removed from the girdle. It is the inseparable companion of a Japanese.

from our confinement, and that we were only kept in prison until the completion of the necessary repairs in the house allotted for us. Soon afterwards Kumaddschero requested that Mr. Moor would describe to him, by a drawing, in what part of their houses the Russians place images of their saints, that some might be put into our new residence. We smiled at this, and replied that the images might be fixed up anywhere; but Kumaddschero repeated his solicitation, and Mr. Moor at length gave him a drawing.\*

On the 1st of April, the Japanese began to remove our things to the house, and at noon we were conducted before the bunyo at the castle. In the presence of all the chief officers of the city, he informed us that we were now to be released from our imprisonment, and lodged in a fine house, which had previously been the residence of an officer of state, that we should live in a much better style than before, and that we ought therefore to regard the Japanese as our countrymen and brethren. With these words he withdrew.

\* We soon learned that Kumaddschero had made a very serious matter of trifles of this kind; for everything was arranged precisely according to Mr. Moor's drawing.

## CHAPTER VI.

Japanese love of gardening—Description of the prisoners' house—Obunynos or viceroys—Determination to attempt escape—Prejudice raised against the captives—Suspicious conduct of Mr. Moor—Japanese taste for reading—Mode of printing—Introduction of playing-cards into Japan—Mode of playing at draughts—Preparations for flight—Mr. Moor tampers with the Kurile Alexei—Declares his determination to spend the remainder of his life in Japan—The prisoners effect their escape during the night.

FROM the castle, we were conducted to the house which had been prepared for us. It was situated opposite to the southern gate of the fortress, between the rampart and a sloping rock, at the foot of which the middle quarter of the city was built. It had rather a spacious yard, and was surrounded by a wooden wall, or fence, with *chevaux-de-frise*. The yard was divided by a wooden fence into two separate parts, one of which was appropriated to us. It contained three or four trees and a few shrubs; and the Japanese, in drawing our attention to all the elegancies of our new dwelling, called it a garden. There was a pool of dirty water in the further corner of the yard, which they styled a lake, and a hillock of mud in the centre of the water was intended to represent an island.

The Japanese are extremely fond of gardens, and love to imitate natural scenery. During our walks through the



city, we frequently passed houses having little patches of cultivated ground attached to them. In these pieces of ground there was always a pool of water, surrounded with trees and bushes. In the centre of the water two or three heaps of earth were usually collected to represent islands, with stones fixed upon them, for rocks and mountains. Some of these miniature islands were even planted with shrubberies. In the water we sometimes observed little boats and vessels sailing about, which were, however, very badly made. Such were the ornaments usually attached to the houses of the poorer classes, whose bits of enclosed ground, or yards, were only a few paces in diameter. The richer class of the Japanese have, in general, fine gardens. The climate of the Island of Matsmai, notwithstanding its advantageous geographical situation, is, owing to other local circumstances, unfavourable for gardening; but, from the accounts of the Japanese themselves, there are many fine gardens on the Island of Nippon, belonging to the princes and other individuals of distinction, who feel a pride in admitting the common people to walk in them, and to wonder at the beauty of their cultivation.

From our yard, or garden, a small door, which was almost, always closed, communicated with the adjoining yard. It was only opened when the commander of the Sangar soldiers, or one of the officers, came in to inspect our yard, or when we were led out to walk. At sunset our guards began to go their rounds at every half hour. The gate leading to the road next the rampart was in the other part of the yard, and was only closed during the night. Our house was divided by wooden palisades into two separate parts, each of which communicated with the corresponding half of the yard. One half of the house

contained three apartments, which were assigned to our use, and were separated from each other by skreens; and the other part behind the palisades was occupied by a party of soldiers, and an officer of the Prince of Sangar, by whom we were guarded. They could observe all our motions with the greatest ease; and there was besides, a door, which communicated from their part of the house to ours, but which was always closed. These soldiers, in addition to their sabres and daggers, were armed with guns and pikes. The officer was constantly seated near the palisades, looking into our apartment. Besides this guard-room, there was another little chamber, in which two imperial soldiers were stationed, who were occasionally relieved, and who could likewise see all that passed in our apartments. The door which led from their chamber to our lodgings was closed only at night. These soldiers were frequently with us in the course of the day; and, indeed, they sometimes visited us during the night, when we were first removed to our new abode. Behind these guard-rooms, and in the same part of the house, were chambers for the servants, kitchens, and store-rooms. That part of the house which we occupied was surrounded by a balcony, or gallery, from which we could see over the fence, and could descry towards the south the Straits of Sangar, the opposite coast of Japan, and the masts of several vessels lying close in shore.\* Through the openings in the fence we could discover the vessels themselves, together with a

\* The city of Matsmai is built on a large open bay, without having any regular harbour. The Japanese vessels lie close to the shore, behind heaps of stones, which serve to protect them from the waves. In some places the depth at low water is said to be four fathoms, which is amply sufficient for large European merchantmen.

part of the city. On the northern side we had a view of the castle and hills of Matsmai.

Our residence was in various respects changed for the better. We could at least enjoy the sight of the sky, the stars, and many other objects; and we could, when we chose, walk out into the yard and enjoy the fresh air. We had before been debarred from all these enjoyments. Our food was likewise considerably better. But, nevertheless, we were inconsolable whenever we thought of the last words of the bunyo. He desired us to regard the Japanese as our brethren and countrymen, and mentioned not a word about Russia, as he had been before accustomed to do. He had formerly used every effort to console us, by appearing to take an interest in our behalf, and promising to exert all his influence to facilitate our return to our native country; but he now told us to look upon the Japanese as our countrymen. We could construe this in no other way than that we must make up our minds to remain in Japan, and banish every thought of Russia. But we had firmly resolved that such should not be our fate; and had even bound ourselves by an oath, that, whatever might be the consequence, we would attempt either to liberate ourselves by force from the power of the Japanese, or to escape secretly during the night. We had all, with the exception of Mr. Moor, formed a determination to perish rather than remain for ever in Japan.

When the officers and the interpreter came, according to custom, to congratulate us on our removal to our new abode, they immediately observed that the removal had not made the favourable impression upon us which they expected, and that we were as dull and melancholy as ever. "We perceive," said they, "that your change of residence has not contributed to cheer your spirits, and that all your

thoughts are bent on returning to Russia. Though our government has not yet come to any decision on your case, yet the bunyo, when he visits the capital\* in the summer season, will use all his influence to obtain your freedom, and to send you home." Teske, who had repeatedly assured us of the interest which the bunyo took in our case, now mentioned to us a circumstance which determined us on attempting our escape before the commencement of the summer. It appeared that the bunyo had, a short time before, received a letter from the capital, which he opened in the presence of Teske. On reading it he let it fall from his hand, and his countenance evinced the deepest agitation and distress. When Teske enquired the cause of his emotion, he replied that the government had paid no regard to his representation; and, instead of granting him permission to maintain a friendly understanding with the Russian vessels which might in future approach the Japanese coasts, he had been directed to burn them, and make their crews prisoners. The Prince of Nambu, had, accordingly, been ordered to provide a considerable detach-

\* There are two obunyo, or viceroys, in every district in Japan which does not belong to a governing prince, but is immediately dependant on the Emperor: the one resides in his province, the other in the capital, and they annually relieve each other. The acting bunyo makes a report of everything to his coadjutor, who lays a statement before the government, and uses his endeavours to bring affairs to a speedy and wished-for issue. The Japanese regard this mode of alternate government as extremely convenient. It is, besides, in other respects, really necessary, as neither the wife nor children of the bunyo are allowed to accompany him to his province. They are detained in the capital as hostages for the faithful discharge of his duty. This rule is likewise observed with regard to the governing princes. Their wives and children always reside in the capital: but the princes spend alternately one year with their families, and another in their principalities.

ment of troops, under the command of a distinguished general, with artillery and ammunition, and to strengthen the fortifications, and reinforce the garrisons of Kunashier and other sea-ports. "Then," we exclaimed, "war is unavoidable; and the Japanese, and not the Russians, are the guilty promoters of bloodshed." "War will doubtless ensue," replied Teske, "but it will not last for ever: whenever peace is concluded, you will be set at liberty." Set at liberty! thought we; yes, when our bones have rotted in Japan. We were well aware that the harbour of Okotzk did not contain so considerable a force as would compel the Japanese to come to a reconciliation; for this purpose it would have been necessary to send an expedition from the Baltic, and the practicability of that event depended on the peace with England. All these things required time, and time might banish all recollection of our case.

These considerations urged us to attempt the speedy execution of our project, and, if possible, to effect our escape before the arrival of any Russian vessels, for we reflected that, when they came within sight of the Japanese coasts, our guards would probably be doubled, or we might again be shut up in our cages.

Teske used every endeavour to console us. He assured us that if the new bunyo should be as kindly disposed towards us as Arrao-Madsimano-Kami\* had been, he might, in consequence of the personal intercessions which his colleague would make in our behalf, easily give another turn to our affair. The new bunyo was expected

\* Arrao-Madsimano was the name of the first bunyo. "Kami" denotes a dignity which persons of rank obtain from the spiritual emperor, and is always added by way of distinction to the person's name. There is no dignity in Europe, or perhaps in the world, which corresponds with "Kami:" it signifies something sacred.



in two months. But the Russian ships might appear in the interim; and, as they had no reason to expect a friendly reception from the Japanese, they might probably themselves be the first to adopt measures of hostility. In the meanwhile, the Japanese were constantly questioning us on various subjects. This was chiefly by the advice of Mamia-Rinso. We learned from Teske that this man had become our irreconcilable enemy; that he had declared to the governor that our arrival at Japan was not accidental, but that we had been sent for the express purpose of acting as spies. We were not informed of all the arguments which he adduced in support of his assertion; but those which Teske mentioned to us were highly ludicrous. For instance, it appeared to him a very suspicious circumstance that we should have along with us a letter of credit for five thousand piastres, which were to be paid by an English merchant at Canton: he was fully persuaded that some improper motives must have induced us to make provision for so much foreign gold, which might be brought to Japan. He, therefore, inquired the name of the merchant, whether he had ever been in Russia, whether he spoke the Russian language, &c. Teske, however, assured us, that though Mamia-Rinso had not succeeded in altering the favourable feelings of the bunyo, yet his representations had had a considerable effect in the capital, where not only the government, but the greater part of the people were prejudiced against us.

In the meanwhile, the interpreters neglected no opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the Russian language, and they took notes of everything we explained to them. They frequently mentioned the learned men\*

\* In the capital of the Japanese empire there is an institution resem-

who were to come in the suite of the new governor, for the purpose of conversing with us on philosophical subjects, and making themselves acquainted with the contents of our books. In short, every hope that the Japanese would of their own accord grant us our liberty had now vanished. They had, it is true, ameliorated our condition; but this we attributed merely to their wish of reconciling us to our fate, with the view that our lives might be preserved, and they reap the benefit of our instruction.

On this subject we all entertained but one opinion, and our thoughts were wholly occupied with the means of carrying into effect our hazardous enterprise, to which our own countryman, Mr. Moor, proved the greatest obstacle. This unfortunate circumstance rendered our situation doubly wretched. He was, as it were, transformed into another being. He no longer regarded himself as a Russian, and he assured the Japanese that all his relations resided in Germany, &c.\* His conversations with the interpreters proved to us what we had to expect from him. Alexei secretly informed us, that Mr. Moor had acquainted him with his design of entering the Japanese service as European interpreter. Moor had advised Alexei to do the same, for which he promised him his protection when he

bling our universities or academies. The members of this institution devote themselves to the study of philosophy and the instruction of young persons, some of whom reside in the institution, and others merely attend at the hours of instruction, for receiving which, however, the consent of the government is necessary. I shall hereafter mention the extent of knowledge to which learned men attain in Japan.

\* Mr. Moor's father was a German, in the Russian service. His mother, however, was a native of Russia, and he himself had been baptized in the Russian faith. He had received his education in the Naval Cadet College.

should become a distinguished man. It was evident that he was to us a very dangerous person, and this was an additional reason for inducing us to hasten the execution of our project.

Had we been all of one mind, an attempt to escape might easily have been carried into effect. Though the Sangar soldiers scarcely ever fell asleep during the night, yet they concerned themselves but little about us, and usually sat by the fire, smoking tobacco. Their whole duty consisted in going every half hour round the yard, and striking the time. The officer, it is true, always sat near the palisades, yet he seldom looked into our apartment, and was almost constantly occupied in reading.\* As for the imperial soldiers, they strictly fulfilled their duty at first, but they afterwards slept during the whole of the night, or amused themselves in reading or playing at cards or draughts.† We might easily, at midnight, have

\* The Japanese are extremely fond of reading; even the common soldiers, when on duty, are continually engaged with books. This taste for literature, on the part of our guards, however, proved inconvenient to us, as they always read aloud, in a tone of voice resembling singing; much in the same style in which the Psalms are read at funerals in Russia. Before we became thoroughly used to this strange practice, we were unable to enjoy a moment's rest during the night. The history of their native country, the contests which have arisen among themselves, and the wars in which they have been engaged with neighbouring nations, form the subjects of their favourite books, which are all printed in Japan. They do not use metal types, but the characters are cut on pieces of hard wood, in the manner of wood engraving.

† These are very common amusements among the Japanese. They are fond of playing for money, and will stake their last piece upon a game. They were taught to play at cards by the Dutch sailors, who were allowed free intercourse with the inhabitants, and in Nangasaky were permitted to visit taverns and women of a certain character; who, in Japan, carry on their trade of profligacy under the protection of the laws. Playing cards were at first known to the Japanese by their European names, and there

crept one after another into the yard, previously taking the precaution to place some of our clothes in the beds, and covering them up beneath the quilts, so as to make it seem that we were still lying soundly asleep. There was an aperture under the fence, through which the water ran off from the yard: this opening might easily have been enlarged so as to admit of our creeping through it.

We must then have stolen softly through the town, until we reached the shore, from whence, in a small boat, we might row to one of the vessels we had observed during our walks, and on gaining possession of it put to sea. But to insure the success of such an enterprise, we required a brisk wind blowing from the land. Mr. Moor, who suspected our design, watched us closely at every motion; we therefore thought it impossible to make an attempt of this nature without his participation, as he would have immediately discovered our flight, and probably have raised an alarm among the guards. None of the inhabitants of the city being permitted to go out at night without lanterns, to elude the observation of the patrols, we should have been obliged to creep cautiously along the streets. This would at least have occupied several hours, and before the expiration of that time our escape would probably

were originally fifty-two in a pack. Owing, however to the pecuniary losses and fatal disputes to which gaming gave rise, card-playing was strictly prohibited in Japan. In order to evade the law, the Japanese invented a pack of forty-eight cards, which are much smaller than ours, and are generally used. Their game at draughts is extremely complicated and difficult. They make use of a very large draught-board and four hundred pieces. These pieces are moved about in many different directions, and are liable to be taken in various ways. Our sailors played at draughts according to the usual European way, and the Japanese immediately imitated them. The game was soon generally known throughout the whole city, and the Russian terms were adopted in playing it.

have been prevented ; we therefore abandoned all thoughts of carrying this design into effect. We had, however, formed two other plans. Instead of proceeding to the shore, we might ascend a mound covered with trees, which formed a kind of glacis, behind the ditch on the western side of the fortress ; for, in the course of our walks, we had observed that no guards were stationed either on the rampart or the glacis, but that, within the gate of the fortress, two soldiers only were seated in a large guard-room, who were usually amusing themselves by smoking tobacco. From the glacis we might gain a long alley of high trees, and from thence enter the city burying-ground,\* which was situated in an extensive plain, stretching along the side of a deep valley. Having passed through the cemetery, we should find ourselves in the open fields, about the distance of two wersts from the hills. It would then require three days to be spent in crossing the hills in a northerly direction, in order to reach the coast, there to await the opportunity of making ourselves masters of a vessel. Our other plan was to break from our guards by force, if, during our walks, we should observe a ship near the shore.

We gave the preference to this last scheme, as we reflected, that whilst we were crossing the hills, the Japanese might gain time to issue orders for keeping a strict watch over their ships. But even the project we thought most feasible was extremely uncertain, since it required the combination of two circumstances—a brisk favourable

\* We should have met with no obstruction in passing through the cemetery, as the Japanese have a great horror at approaching such places during the night. Even had we accidentally been perceived from a distance, the sight of human figures wandering about among the tombs would have filled the Japanese with terror, and kept them at a distance.



wind, and meeting with a vessel suited to our purpose. Though we had no time for delay, yet we resolved to wait for a day or two, in the hope that an opportunity might arise to enable us to carry our plan into execution.

In the meanwhile, we made our preparations. In one of our walks in the outskirts of the city we found a piece of steel, which one of the sailors picked up, under pretence of drawing up his boot, and slipped it into his pocket; we likewise found means to provide ourselves with some flints, unperceived by our attendants. The fragments of an old shirt, which we threw upon the fire as if by accident, served us for tinder; we besides daily increased our store of provisions, by secreting a portion of our allowances. We did not neglect defensive precautions. Having had the good fortune to find amongst the grass in our yard a large chisel, which had probably been left by the carpenters who repaired our house, we carefully hid it, and resolved, on the first favourable opportunity, to fasten it to a long pole, so that it might serve as a pike. To a similar purpose we destined a spade, which had also been left by accident in our yard, and which we appropriated. The proverb, that necessity is the mother of invention, was in our case fully verified, for Mr. Chlebnikoff actually managed to make a compass. We requested our attendants to let us have two large needles for mending our clothes, and afterwards pretended that we had lost them. The Japanese sometimes fasten together the beams of their houses with copper; this had been done in our house, although the copper was very rusty. Mr. Chlebnikoff cleaned a piece of this copper, in the middle of which he bored a hole, so that a needle might be placed upon it. By frequently rubbing this needle on a stone which he selected for the purpose, he succeeded in magnetising it, and finally gave

it such a degree of polarity, that it pointed with tolerable accuracy to the north. The case was composed of a few sheets of paper pasted together with rice. This compass cost Mr. Chlebnikoff much labour, and he was besides obliged to proceed in his operations with the greatest caution. Had the Japanese observed him rubbing the needle against the flint, they would never have guessed his real design ; probably they would have supposed that he was sharpening the point ; but it would have been impossible to deceive Mr. Moor. We therefore arranged, that whilst Mr. Chlebnikoff was at work in a corner of the yard, one of our party should always walk up and down, and gave him a signal when any suspicious person approached.

We were now taken out to walk more frequently than before, and the interpreters, or some of the inhabitants of the city, often invited us to call on them, and gave us refreshments. According to the Japanese laws, a native cannot receive strangers into the interior part of his house ; but we always entered under the pretence of being so fatigued by our walk, and that it was necessary we should rest awhile. We generally found everything prepared for our reception, and we took our seats in the galleries, which were previously spread with clean mats. There we were presented with tea, tobacco for smoking, *sagi*, sweet cakes, fruits, &c.

One day, as we were walking along the beach, we came up with two fishing-boats. As it were, in fulfilment of our wishes, a sloop chanced to be lying at a short distance from the shore. I deliberated with Mr. Chlebnikoff, but the success of our enterprise seemed so doubtful, that we deemed it imprudent to make the attempt. Whilst we might have been contending with the soldiers, the fishermen might have rowed off from the shore ; and even had

we succeeded in getting on board the boats, it would have been extremely uncertain whether or not we could have made ourselves masters of the vessel. Mr. Moor, who narrowly watched all our motions, immediately understood what was passing in our minds. On our return home, Alexei secretly informed us that we were in the greatest danger, as Mr. Moor had ordered him to disclose our design to the Japanese, and had threatened to do so himself if he refused. Alexei asked us whether we were determined on attempting our escape, and if so, he entreated that we would not leave him behind us. I must here observe, that we had not made Alexei acquainted with our last plan, fearing lest he might be terrified at the thought of so desperate an enterprize, and consequently be induced to betray us. We, besides, observed, that he was engaged for several hours every day in private conversation with Mr. Moor, and this circumstance roused our suspicion. Mr. Moor was, perhaps, uncertain whether or not we had entirely relinquished our project, and had thrown away our store of provisions. Had he made so important a communication to the Japanese without being able to prove his allegation, he would have been overwhelmed with disgrace for such an act of treachery towards his unfortunate friends. Had Fate ordained that we should safely return to Russia, what would have been his feelings, after such conduct !

These reflections, doubtless, passed within his mind, and convinced him that he must have incontrovertible proof of our design, before he could venture to disclose his suspicions to the Japanese. It seemed, therefore, that he wished to make Alexei the instrument of that proof. Mr. Chlebnikoff was of opinion, that this Kurile was sincerely attached to us, and that we might safely trust him with

the secret; but I did not think it quite prudent to do so. The sailors were all averse to making him a participator in the business, and assured us that Mr. Moor, by his representations, had alienated him from us, and drawn him over to his views. In such a situation as ours it was necessary to consult the feelings of all; we, therefore, followed the advice of the sailors, and told Alexei that we had for the meantime abandoned all thought of escaping, but that we might, perhaps, think of it again on the return of summer, and asked him how he supposed we could best execute our purpose.

To remove suspicion from the mind of Mr. Moor, we told him we still wished to escape, but that we had resolved not to go without him, and would not make any attempt until after the arrival of the new bunyo. We added that we wished to see how the new bunyo should be disposed towards us, and that he, Moor, might by that time probably change his mind, and like us, resolve to venture everything. He replied, that his determination was totally independent of any information which the bunyo might bring, and that he had resolved to remain in Japan. We were, however, happy to find that our dissimulation had the desired effect: Moor seemed perfectly satisfied, and no longer kept a watchful eye upon us. Considering the circumstances in which we were placed, our duplicity will perhaps not be very harshly judged.

At length the 20th of April arrived. The time was near at hand when we might expect our ships to reach Japan, supposing that the 'Diana' had sailed from Okotzk to winter in Kamtschatka. To all appearance it was vain to look forward to an opportunity of forcibly breaking from our guards, and getting on board a vessel.



In the meanwhile, some little imprudence, on the part of our sailors, had, probably, renewed Mr. Moor's suspicions, for he now began to watch us with as much circumspection as before. We again deliberated on what we should do. The coasts of Matsmai are thickly covered with villages of various sizes: we knew that vessels and boats were lying on every part of the shore: we reflected that these vessels might be strongly armed and guarded; but then Heaven assists the bold, and force must be opposed to force.—We determined to make our escape to the mountains.

On the 23rd of April, we were conducted to the outskirts of the city to walk. Under pretence of mere curiosity, we requested the Japanese to lead us to a pagoda, which stood near the cemetery,\* and which had recently been rebuilt after a fire. We had thus an opportunity of observing the footpaths which we might pursue in the course of our flight.

It may be here observed, that the Island of Matsmai† is entirely covered with hills. The ground is nowhere level, except on the coast, and at short distances from the bases of the mountains, which raise their summits in every direction, and are separated from each other by deep ravines. This extraordinary chain of mountains, which is

\* When we went out to walk, our guards frequently took us into their temples and places of devotion, where they allowed us to see everything without the least reserve. When they had shewn us anything curious, they usually desired us to sit down at the door of the temple, and brought us tea, *sagi*, and tobacco. The interior of their temples bears an extraordinary resemblance to the Catholic churches. They are furnished with a number of images, large and small candlesticks with tapers, &c.

† The island is of a quadrangular form. Its utmost length, from south to north, is about two hundred and fifty-five Italian miles, and its breadth, from east to west, about two hundred and fifty.



high and low by turns, extends over the whole island, the midland parts of which are uninhabited. All the Kurile and Japanese villages lie along the coast.

As we passed through the fields we gathered a great quantity of wild leeks and garlic. The Japanese are very fond of wild leeks, boiled, when young. They, however, do not eat wild garlic, although it would be very salutary for them, as scorbutic diseases are extremely prevalent in Japan, and in many cases prove fatal. Wild garlic, as experience proves, is a powerful anti-scorbutic. We ate both wild leeks and wild garlic, which we gathered ourselves during our walks, to save trouble to our attendants.

On our return home, we felt extremely fatigued, and threw ourselves on our beds. During the twilight the sailors entered the kitchen, and carried off two knives, without being perceived. About half an hour before midnight, Simanoff and Schkajeff stole into the yard, and concealed themselves under the steps. When twelve o'clock struck, and the Sangar soldiers had gone their rounds, they began to make a hole under the fence, through which we all (Mr. Moor and Alexei excepted) crept one after another. I stumbled in going out, slipped down, and struck my knee against a stake which was sunk in the ground close to the gap. The blow was extremely violent, but the pain soon diminished.

We found ourselves on a very narrow path between the fence and the hollow, and with great difficulty we succeeded in gaining the high road. With hasty steps we then passed between the trees, crossed the mound and the cemetery, and, in about half an hour, reached the foot of the first hill which we had to ascend.

## CHAPTER VII.

**P**ursuit of the fugitives—They conceal themselves—Golownin lamed by an accident—Scenery of the country described—Perilous situation—A party of soldiers appears in sight—Golownin and his companions endeavour to reach the sea-shore—Difficulty of concealing themselves—Accident to Mr. Chlebnikoff—The fugitives discovered and recaptured—They are conducted back to Matsmai, and examined before the bunyo—Moor's duplicity—The prisoners again bound with cords, and placed in confinement.

**PROCEEDING** in our hazardous enterprise, we began, at the distance of about five wersts from the shore, to climb the hills, and we endeavoured, wherever it was possible, to direct our course northward. The stars served to guide us. Whilst we were ascending the first hill I felt a violent pain in my knee, which in a short time swelled prodigiously. When we proceeded along level ground, I could, with the assistance of a stick, walk without much difficulty; but I experienced severe pain either in ascending or descending, as I was then obliged to tread heavily with the leg which had been hurt. Being thus unable to make an equal use of both feet, I was quickly overcome with fatigue. My companions were, therefore, under the necessity of stopping every half hour, to enable me to recover myself and ease my knee by resting. Our object was to reach, before daybreak, some hills, across which a

thick forest extended, so as to conceal ourselves from the observation of the enemy; for we had now reason to regard the Japanese in that character. During our walks in the vicinity of the town, this forest appeared to us to be at no very considerable distance, but we soon found how greatly we had mistaken its situation. We could trace no footpath leading to the forest, and we therefore advanced to it in as straight a direction as we could. Owing to the darkness of the night, we could see no farther than a few paces around us, and we sometimes unexpectedly found ourselves at the foot of a steep precipice, which it was impossible to climb. We had then to search for a more practicable road, which, when found, we continued to ascend until new obstacles presented themselves.

In this way we spent three anxious hours, and having at last gained the summit of the hill, we proceeded northward along the level height. But fate had everywhere thrown interruptions and difficulties in our way. At the height we had now reached, the snow lay in some parts extremely thick, and the Japanese might easily have traced our footsteps across it. We were therefore obliged to search for such places as were not covered with snow: in doing this we crossed from one side to the other, and frequently turned back, by which we were greatly fatigued and retarded. About an hour before daybreak, however, we unexpectedly found ourselves proceeding, in a direct line towards the forest, along a good road, which had been made for the purpose of conveying wood to the city on pack-horses. This road was thickly imprinted with the tracks of horses and men; there was no snow upon it, and therefore our steps could not be traced. It led in a straight northerly direction, and passed over the level

summits of the hills. We were not a little delighted at the discovery, and advanced with increased rapidity. I still felt much pain in my knee, and through the whole of my leg; but as we were walking on level ground, it was nothing to what I experienced when ascending the hill.

We hoped shortly to reach the forest, in the heart of which we intended to pass the day; but the sailor, Wassiljeff, having accidentally looked behind him, suddenly exclaimed, "they are pursuing us on horseback with lanterns." With these words he quickly descended into a deep hollow on one side of the road. On looking round, we perceived some lights, apparently at no great distance from us. We immediately followed the example of Wassiljeff, and rushed down into the hollow. We descended to a considerable distance, without finding either a tree or thicket under which we could conceal ourselves, and day was already beginning to dawn. Had it been broad daylight, we might easily have been observed from any of the surrounding hills. We at length reached the bottom of the hollow, which was on every side overhung with naked precipices. The ground was covered with thick snow, but no place of concealment presented itself, and the sun had now completely risen.

We stood still for a few moments, not knowing how to proceed. At last we perceived a small aperture in a rock, and on approaching it, found that it was a cavity which might, perhaps, though with difficulty, contain us all. A waterfall, which descended from the hill, and passed by the side of this cavity, had hollowed out a pit about ten feet deep almost directly under it. We were enabled to get near the cavity by advancing along the snow, which was very high on one side. The place in which we

hoped to find shelter, was situated in the side of a rock about nine feet from the bottom of the hollow, but the cataract had driven away so much of the snow, that it was with great difficulty we could reach the aperture; our only assistance in climbing being a small tree which grew beside it. Had any of us missed a step, or had the tree failed to support our weight, we might have been precipitated into the pit, from whence we could not easily have extricated ourselves. With my lame leg, it would have been next to impossible for me to have got out. We however succeeded in reaching the cavity in safety.

When in it, we found that we had not sufficient room to sit down; and our grotto was, besides, half filled with a kind of sand stones, of which the whole hill was composed. Many of the stones lay with their sharp points and edges upward, and we dared not stir without the greatest caution, as there was a considerable slope towards the mouth of the cave; and had any of the stones given way we might have rolled out along with them. We could neither lie down nor stretch out our feet, but were obliged to rest ourselves first on one elbow and then on the other. In other respects our hiding-place was well adapted to our purpose. The Japanese could not have traced us to it from any distance, for fortunately a keen frosty morning had so hardened the snow, that our footsteps were no longer visible. But there was one circumstance which excited our apprehension; our companion Schkajeff, as he was descending the hollow, lost his cap, which he had himself made out of a worsted stocking. Had it been picked up by the Japanese, they would have immediately recognized it as a part of our wardrobe, and it might perhaps have assisted them in discovering our asylum. We were, besides, afraid that



the rays of the sun might melt the snow at the entrance of the cavity ; and in that case we should have found it impossible to get out, as even in the morning we could not reach it without considerable difficulty.

In this situation we remained until sunset, reflecting on our fate, and deliberating how we should proceed. The day was extremely clear, but the rays of the sun did not penetrate to our retreat, and the neighbouring waterfall increased the coolness of the atmosphere, so that we frequently shivered with cold. During the whole day we distinctly heard the sound of hatchets in the forest, which was at no great distance from us. At sunset we peeped out of our hiding-place, and saw a number of people on the hills. No other remarkable circumstance occurred, except that we heard a rustling noise, as if somebody had been slipping down the hill towards us. The noise became louder and louder ; we even fancied that we beheld soldiers in search of us, and we prepared for defence, when we suddenly perceived a wild deer ; but the animal no sooner smelt us than he darted off at full speed.

When the stars began to appear we left the cave and proceeded northward to a high hill, which was here and there overgrown with underwood. My situation was dreadful. Whilst we were in the cave I had constantly kept my lame leg in one position, and therefore experienced but little uneasiness ; but when I attempted to walk, and particularly to ascend the hill, the pain, which was not confined to my knee, but extended from the heel to the hip, was unbearable. I endured the utmost agony in climbing this hill, and we had yet many more to ascend. Finding that I retarded my companions, and that I might perhaps occasion them to be overtaken by their pursuers, I entreated that they would abandon me

to my fate and proceed without me ; but to this suggestion they would not listen. I represented that, from the commencement of our enterprise, Fate had destined me to suffer, by rendering me incapable of following them. I implored them not to sacrifice themselves for my sake, as I felt assured, from the excruciating pain I endured, they must sooner or later leave me behind. But they would not listen to my entreaties. They all protested that so long as I lived they would not abandon me, that they would stop to let me rest at every quarter of a mile ; and that, when they reached a safe place of concealment, they would stop for two or three days, during which time I might recover. Makaroff besides offered to assist me in climbing the hills, if I would go behind him, and hold by the skirts of his jacket or his girdle. In this manner I resolved to follow my companions. I was unable to walk, and was dragged along by the sailors.

Having ascended another hill, we reached a level spot, which was covered with bamboo reeds and grass of the preceding year. Here we rested for a short time, and then advanced in a northerly direction, taking the stars for our guides. The night was calm and clear, and the snow-topped hills, which we had yet to ascend, shone in the distance. The level height we were now crossing was separated from the adjoining hill by a ravine of extraordinary depth, which we thought it imprudent to descend during the night, as we might have experienced considerable difficulty in extricating ourselves from the abyss. Instead, therefore, of advancing straight northward, we turned a little towards the west, and proceeded along the edge of the ravine, in the hope of finding some convenient place for crossing it. Our embarrassment was not of long duration. We soon discovered a kind of

mound, which appeared to be indebted to art for its existence. It connected together the summits of the hills, which were otherwise separated by the precipitous ravine, and its magnitude only would have warranted the supposition of its being the work of nature. Proceeding onward, we discovered, as we supposed, two huts, and at intervals we heard the sound of a pipe, resembling those used in Russia for alluring quails. We stooped down among the grass, and for a long while listened attentively, without knowing whether the sound proceeded from a bird, or from some hunters, whom we suspected might be in the huts. We at length resolved to advance, being well aware that their number could not be so considerable as to prevent our successful resistance in case we should be attacked. On approaching, however, we discovered that what we had in the dark taken for huts were merely two heaps of poles. We armed ourselves with some of these poles, and then pursued our course.

On reaching the next hill we discovered a wide road leading northward, along which coals and wood are conveyed on pack-horses to the city. We observed plainly that this road had not been trodden during the present spring, though we perceived in all directions fires, which were doubtless kindled for making charcoal. The sides of this road were overgrown with thickets and high grass, among which we lay down to rest at midnight; for owing to the sharp stones with which the cave was filled, we had not enjoyed a moment's repose during the day. We slept for two or three hours, and then resumed our course. From the summit of the hill we descended, by various turnings and windings, into a small valley, watered by a

little stream, on the surface of which the ice and deep snow were in many places sufficiently strong to bear our weight. We now lost sight of the road, and proceeded over the snow in an oblique direction across the valley, in the hope of finding the road again, but our attempt was unsuccessful ; we, however, discovered a footpath leading to the summit of a hill, higher than any we had hitherto crossed. As the precipice was extremely difficult of ascent, and we frequently found it necessary to stop to rest, we did not reach the summit until the dawn of morning. We then found a convenient resting-place, where we resolved to halt for the day. We crept in among the thickest of the bushes, and for the sake of a little warmth laid close to each other, for the morning was extremely cold, and our clothing was not calculated to protect us from its influence. We did not, however, lie in this place above two hours ; and we suffered so severely from the cold, that to sleep was quite impossible.

Daylight having completely set in, we arose to take a view of the objects around us. We found ourselves on a lofty eminence, on every side surrounded by mountains. Those towards the south were somewhat lower than the one on which we stood, but those to the north were, on the contrary, considerably higher. Hills, forests, and snow were the only objects which met our eyes ; yet the prospect was sublime. We observed that the tops of all the hills were enveloped in mist, and we consequently concluded, that if we kindled a fire among the bushes it would not be perceptible from any of the surrounding eminences ; we therefore resolved to try the experiment, for the double purpose of warming ourselves and boiling

our kettle;\* not indeed to make tea, for we had none with us, but to warm and render more palatable our rice, which had by this time become dry and mouldy. We likewise searched for wild herbs, but in vain, for among these hills winter still raged with the utmost severity. We collected some dry twigs, kindled a fire, and warmed some snow-water, which we sucked up with small bamboo reeds, and ate the rice along with it.

In the meantime, some heavy clouds arose behind the hills in the direction of the east, and the wind began to howl among the rocks. The clouds spread in every direction, and the wind blew with more and more violence. A storm appeared to be gathering. Persuaded that we should now meet nobody among the hills, and that we were therefore safe from pursuit, we resolved to proceed without waiting for night. We were the more disposed to adopt this resolution on account of the extreme cold, from which, notwithstanding the fire, we suffered most severely.

We proceeded straight northward, along the footpath which had been traced on the ridges of the mountains. This path, however, soon took a lateral direction, and at length turned completely round; we therefore abandoned it, and pursued our course among the thickets. The declivity of the hill, which was covered with snow, conducted us into a hollow. The pain in my foot had not in the least abated, and I was dragged along, holding by the girdle of Makaroff. When we were descending the precipice, the violence of the pain forced me to sit down on the snow, and slide along. In doing this I guided my course with

\* We had not forgotten to bring along with us a copper kettle, which our attendants had, by a lucky chance, on the night of our escape, left on the hearth in the room where the sailors slept.



the pole to which the chisel was fixed, which also served to diminish the velocity of my motion where the declivity was very abrupt. Contrary to our expectations, the storm did not arise, the clouds dispersed, and all the surrounding hills became perceptible.

But this did not induce us to alter our determination, and we still continued to advance. On reaching the hollow, we discovered on the banks of a little rivulet two or three huts, built of earth, but there was nobody within them. We waded through the water, and again ascended a hill, which, however, had the advantage of being covered with trees, against which we frequently rested, and by which we were at the same time concealed from observation.

Having ascended to a considerable height, we suddenly found ourselves at the foot of a steep rock, which we could not climb without the greatest difficulty and danger. I had nearly reached the top of the rock, when I found myself under the necessity of loosening my hold of the girdle of Makaroff, who otherwise, overburthened as he was, would not have been able to have gained the summit. I therefore placed the toes of my sound foot firmly against a stone, and throwing my right arm round a young tree, which was so much bent down that it inclined almost horizontally, I resolved to wait until Makaroff should reach the top, and be able to release me from my perilous situation. But, powerful and vigorous as Makaroff was, his great exertions had so overcome him, that he no sooner reached the summit, than he fell to the ground almost in a lifeless state. At this moment, the stone against which I rested my foot detached itself, and rolled to the bottom of a deep hollow which the rock overhung. I was thus left hanging by one hand, without the possibility

of obtaining any other support, owing to the excessive smoothness of the rock.

The rest of the sailors were at no great distance, but fatigue rendered them unable to afford me any assistance. Makaroff still lay stretched upon the ground, and Mr. Chlebnikoff was labouring to climb the rock at another point. Having remained in this dreadful situation for several minutes, my hand began to smart severely, and I was on the point of ending my sufferings by precipitating myself into the gulf, more than a hundred fathoms beneath me, when Makaroff, suddenly recovering, beheld my situation, and hastened to my assistance. Resting his foot upon a stone which projected from the rock under my breast, he with one hand grasped a branch of the tree. With my hand which was free I then seized his girdle, and, by a great effort on his part, I was drawn to the top of the rock. We were no sooner both safe, than Makaroff again fell down in a state of insensibility. Had either the stone or the branch of the tree given way, we must both have been precipitated to the bottom, and have perished.

Meanwhile, Mr. Chlebnikoff had climbed to the middle of the rock, when such obstacles presented themselves that he could neither move backwards nor forwards. The sailors immediately tied together the sashes they wore as girdles, and, having lowered one end until he was enabled to take hold of it, drew him from his perilous situation.

We rested for a short time on the top of this rock, and then proceeded to ascend the next hill, on the summit of which we perceived, in the distance, a mud hut, or something resembling one, which we supposed would afford a convenient shelter for the night. Before sunset

we reached the summit of this hill, one of the highest in Matsmai: it was overgrown with reeds, between which the snow lay very deep, and only a few scattered trees were to be seen. Contrary to our expectations, we found no hut; but we were convinced we were now secure, as our pursuers would never have thought of seeking us at that fearful height. We immediately kindled a fire, and prepared a supper, consisting of the wild garlic and sorrel we had gathered on the banks of the river through which we had that day (April 25th) waded. We likewise dried our clothes, which were completely soaked, as the water had in many places been more than knee-deep. Towards night we collected some reeds and built a hut.

Having eaten heartily of boiled herbs and a portion of our store of provisions, we laid ourselves down to rest. Night had already set in, and in consequence of the extreme fatigue we had undergone, we quickly fell asleep. My repose was not, however, of long duration; being oppressed by the excessive heat of our hut, I awoke and walked out into the open air. I leaned against a tree near the hut, and the majestic image of nature which I then beheld filled me with admiration and astonishment. The sky was clear, and numerous black clouds were floating around the nearest hills. It probably rained in the plains. The snow glistened on the tops of the mountains in the distance. I never saw the stars shine with such brilliancy as on that night: a deadly stillness prevailed around me.

But the charm of this sublime spectacle vanished when I reflected on our situation, which now presented itself to my mind in all its horrors—six men on the summit of one of the highest mountains in Matsmai, without clothing, provisions, or even arms, by the help of which we might

have obtained something to save us from starvation, surrounded by enemies and wild beasts,\* wandering over a strange island, uncertain whether or not we should succeed in getting on board a vessel; and I in a state of lameness, which occasioned the severest agony at every step. To reflect on so helpless a condition, was indeed to be verging on despair. In the meanwhile some of my companions also awoke, and their sighs and prayers served only to increase my distress. In this situation I remained for upwards of an hour, when the cold forced me again to take refuge in the hut. I stretched myself upon the ground, but to sleep was impossible.

We arose at daybreak (on the 26th of April), kindled a fire, cooked some wild garlic and sorrel, ate our breakfast, and then continued our journey. We now resolved no longer to climb the hills, but to pursue our course along the banks of a little stream, which flowed in a westerly direction, and then to turn northward, to await on the sea-shore an opportunity of reaching some vessel. We descended into a deep valley below the hill, and directed our course towards the west, along the side of the stream. But the road we had chosen was by no means an easy one. The stream frequently flowed with violence between narrow cliffs of rock, which we could not pass without the greatest difficulty and danger. The least slip of the foot would have plunged us into the water, and we should have been carried down by the current, and dashed to pieces against

\* The forests of Matsmai are inhabited by bears, wolves, foxes, hares, stags, and wild goats. There are, likewise, some sables to be found on this island, but their fur is of a reddish colour, and consequently of little value. The bears are uncommonly fierce, and they attack men as well as other animals.

some of the projecting masses of rock. In addition to this, we were compelled at every quarter of a mile, and even at shorter distances, to wade across the rivulet. as the banks on one side were frequently so steep that it was impossible to walk along them. Whenever we found it necessary to cross from one side to the other, we, of course, chose those parts where the water was shallow, and flowed with little violence ; but we frequently found it, even with the assistance of poles, difficult to resist the force of the current. The depth of the stream was various, sometimes reaching to our knees, and at other times above our waists.

Having travelled in this way to some distance, we discovered on the banks of the rivulet several empty huts, which during the summer season had been inhabited by wood-cutters and coal-burners. We entered them and searched for provisions, but we found only an old hatchet and a chisel, both completely covered with rust, and two lackered cups, which we carried away. The day was clear and excessively warm ; we therefore resolved, though the sun had not yet set behind the hills, to pass the night in one of the huts, in which we found a stove for making charcoal. We were afraid to kindle a blazing fire, lest it should be perceived by the Japanese : we, however, made one sufficiently large to roast some wild garlic, *lysimachia*, and sorrel, and to dry our clothes. We then lay down to rest in the hut, of which one half of the roof had fallen in, so that we slept, as it were, in the open air. The night was extremely cold ; but from this we did not suffer much inconvenience, as we lay among straw, with which we completely covered ourselves.

On the following morning, the 27th of April, we took,



our usual breakfast, and pursued our course along the banks of the river. Having proceeded about two miles, we discovered a hut, from the roof of which smoke was issuing. To attack the poor inhabitants would have been an unprovoked act of cruelty; and we, besides, thought it imprudent to show ourselves, lest they should give our pursuers information respecting us. We, therefore, ascended a hill, which was covered with thickets, and proceeded westward. We then descended by a footpath into a valley, where at noon we seated ourselves by the side of a little brook, and ate some beans and rice. On reaching the summit of another hill, we observed various roads leading to the sea-side. The hills in this part of the island were entirely barren, without either bushes or high grass, and crossed by paths in various directions.

The weather was so extremely clear, that we observed a dog running along a footpath on a distant hill. We at first deemed it imprudent to advance, as the Japanese might easily have recognised us, and yet we were unwilling to lose time. Our object was to reach the coast by the evening, and, after having taken a little rest, to proceed along the shore during the night. At length we resolved to advance separately, stooping down, and keeping a strict watch on every side. We turned back about the distance of a mile, and reached a hill somewhat lower than the rest; but here we were still in danger, for we might easily have been seen from the highway which lay along the shore: we, therefore, sat down among the grass, and deliberated on the most prudent mode of proceeding. At that moment we discovered a party of soldiers on horseback, who were galloping along a footpath, in a

direction towards us. We crept immediately into a hollow, and hid ourselves among the bushes, with which it was on both sides covered, and the soldiers rode past without perceiving us. We were now convinced of the danger of proceeding across the hills ; for had we not been sitting down at the moment the soldiers came in sight, we should doubtless have been discovered and taken.

The valley in which we had concealed ourselves was watered by a small brook, the bed of which was muddy, and filled with decayed roots and leaves. We stirred up the mud, and found some very small crabs, which we ate with as much pleasure as if they had been the most exquisite dainties. Having sat about an hour in the valley, we resolved to advance through it as long as we should find bushes capable of concealing us, and to endeavour to regain the hills by some other road. The valley led straight towards the sea. We walked on for upwards of a mile, and came to a spot which could be seen from various roads. We therefore seated ourselves amidst shrubs and reeds. There we found several fine young trees, some of which we cut down to make pikes, fastening our knife to one, the chisel to another, and merely cutting the ends of others into sharp points with the hatchet which we had found in the hut, and with which one of the sailors was armed. Whilst we were busy at this work, we suddenly heard the sound of voices approaching us. They appeared to proceed from persons on the other side of the valley. Mr. Chlebnikoff, who at this time was seated the highest up of any of us, saw a number of working people pass by, among whom were several women.

When it began to grow dark we resumed our journey,

and at night reached the shore, along which we proceeded in a northerly direction.\* We had, however, scarcely advanced the distance of a werst, when we unexpectedly found ourselves in front of a village, which was built beside a steep rock, a circumstance which accounted for our not having sooner perceived it. We immediately halted, fearing to proceed, lest guards might be stationed in the village; but finding that the rock was extremely high, and difficult to climb, we resolved at all hazards to venture onwards. We succeeded in passing unperceived: even the dogs never once barked at us. We found here two boats which were good in their kind, but too small for our purpose, and we proceeded, in the hope of falling in with some larger kind of craft.

This occurrence afforded us much satisfaction. We were convinced that the villages were not all so strictly guarded as we had supposed. In the course of the night we passed with equal boldness through one or two other villages, near which we saw several boats, but they were all too small; besides, the road along the shore was not so passable and good as we had at first supposed. There was a large plain between the hills and beach, which was frequently intersected by hollows, through which streams and brooks flowed from the hills into the sea. When the direct course towards the sea was obstructed by perpendicular rocks, the road passed

\* I cannot state with any precision at what distance we were from the city when we reached the shore. Whilst we were ascending and descending the hills, we frequently found it necessary to take a lateral direction, and even to turn back, by which means we made but little progress, though we had passed over considerable spaces of ground. From the situation of two small uninhabited islands, which we observed on looking towards the shore, and which we had before seen at Matsmai, we concluded we must have been twenty-five wersts from the city.

along the plain through the hollows, in which the ascent and descent\* were very steep and exceedingly difficult. We frequently lost the footpaths, particularly in the valleys, where the soil was usually composed of gravel and sand, and we sometimes knew not how to get out of them. We often spent hours in searching for the road, and when we did not succeed in finding it, we were compelled to climb the heights in the dark, with the greatest difficulty and danger. There was in general no trace of footsteps left among the sand in the hollows, and we were obliged to go forward, trusting to chance for finding an outlet; but our progress was frequently stopped by rocks, which it was necessary to avoid by making a circuit, or to attempt to surmount at the risk of breaking our necks.

At daybreak, on the 28th of April, we again turned back to the mountains, where we proposed to remain during the day. When the sun had fully risen we found ourselves on a high hill, which was totally barren, and consequently afforded us no means of concealment. At length, however, we discovered some bushes in a hollow, and tearing up others from different places, we fixed them into the ground, and crept in beneath them. Unfortunately there was neither water nor snow upon this hill, and we suffered excessively from thirst. On the other side of the hollow, and opposite to us, was a path leading

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\* Owing to the mountainous nature of the country, the Japanese never employ carriages, either in Matsmai or any other of the Kurile islands. All burdens are either conveyed by water, or on the backs of horses or oxen. The officers and persons of distinction travel in litters and sedan chairs, and others on horseback. There are, therefore, no roads, properly speaking, but merely footpaths, which, on the hills, for the convenience of the horses, are made to wind in various directions.

to a wood, along which we frequently observed men and pack-horses going backwards and forwards. We could see them so plainly, that had the former been our acquaintances, we should have found no difficulty in recognising them. They did not observe us, though a glance directed towards that part of the hollow in which we had taken refuge would inevitably have betrayed us.

We were busily employed during the whole of this day. We stitched our shirts together for the purpose of forming two sails, and made all the necessary appurtenances out of the ropes and pieces of woollen cloth which we had carried off with us. There was a village at no great distance from our hiding-place; and, as evening approached, we observed that one of the vessels which were sailing along the coast anchored near it. We resolved, therefore, in case the wind should prove favourable, to board the vessel that very night.

At sunset we descended the hill, and proceeded towards the shore; but as we approached the vessel, we heard a noise and the sound of voices on board. We, therefore, withdrew, intending to wait until the dead of the night before we attempted the execution of our enterprise; but we soon discovered that the vessel was weighing anchor. Our design was therefore frustrated, and we pursued our course along the shore.

We had this night many more obstacles to contend with than on the preceding. The hollows were more numerous and deeper, and we frequently found it necessary to wade through streams. Towards midnight we arrived at a village of considerable size. We at first wished to pass along the principal street; but we found it extremely long, and we, besides, heard the guards striking the hour with their boards. We then proposed



going round the outside of the village; but the kitchen gardens were so large, that we must have made a very considerable circuit: we, therefore, proceeded across the gardens, and left traces of our footsteps behind us, which must have been remarkable on account of their size.\* On the shore we observed several large fires, and at first were at a loss to conjecture what was meant by them. We imagined they were intended as watch-fires for the soldiers; but we soon discovered that they were signals for the vessels which were sailing past the coast, for they were lighted up immediately upon lanterns being hoisted on board the ships.

On the 29th of April, the morning dawn drove us to the adjoining heights. At sun-rise we found ourselves on the summit of a high and barren hill, which afforded us no place of refuge. We perceived on every side footpaths, along which the inhabitants passed from the villages to the forests. We therefore turned to the opposite side, and entered a deep woody valley, in which there was a brook. We seated ourselves in a concealed place, and kindled a fire to dry our clothes and warm ourselves, for the weather was extremely cold and windy; and having gathered some wild garlic and water-angelica, we cooked and ate it. These herbs were, however, none of the most palatable; and without the addition of other

\* We had found it inconvenient to wear the Japanese shoes, and requested that we might be furnished with leather, as one of the sailors who understood the shoemaking business, could make boots for us. The Japanese gave us seal's skin for the legs, and the hide of bear's heads for the soles. Out of these materials Simanoff made a kind of peasant's boots, called Siberian torbasses. They were extremely large, and the traces of our sailors' footsteps were twice the size of those of the Japanese. It might, therefore, easily be guessed who imprinted the marks we left behind us.

food, such as a handful of beans or rice, we could not possibly have eaten them. I lost all appetite, though I drank considerable quantities of water wherever it was to be found.

We now began to consider how we should furnish ourselves with provisions ; and our situation rendered it necessary that we should search for a convenient place in the forest, where we might repose and recover our strength, which, owing to want of sustenance and excessive fatigue, was nearly exhausted. Unfortunately for us, the hills at a certain distance from the shore were completely barren ;\* and at every three wersts there were villages, whose inhabitants were, during the day, continually going backward and forward to the forest. In the day-time it was, therefore, impossible to conceal ourselves close to the shore ; and we were obliged, before sun-rise, to hasten across the hills into the forest, and when night approached, again to direct our weary steps towards the sea. When we reached the beach, we were usually so overcome with fatigue, that we were scarcely able to crawl. Our great object was to obtain, as speedily as possible, possession of a vessel ; confident that it would,

\* On the eastern side of Matsmai the coast is covered to the very margin of the sea, with wood, and we concluded it would be the same on the western side. But we found, on the contrary, that from the shore to the centre of the island, the trees were almost all felled for the sake of procuring fuel. The Japanese consume great quantities of wood and charcoal, as they have no stoves, and keep fires constantly burning on the hearths. As the winter is both severe and of long duration, the extensive population renders a great supply of coal and wood necessary. The scarcity of wood on the hills on the western side of Matsmai, proves that the Japanese must have first established themselves on that part of the island, and have afterwards extended themselves to the east. The city of Matsmai is supposed to be four hundred years old.

according to the Japanese custom, be plentifully supplied with provisions and fresh water. We proposed, when we should be passing through the villages, to search for the spot where the Japanese lay out their fish to dry, or, if possible, to catch two or three horses in the fields, carry them into the forest, and kill them, and live upon their flesh.

At sun-set we quitted our hiding-place, and proceeded, as usual, to grope our way to the coast. The obstacles which we before had to contend with were now increased; the valleys were deeper than any we had hitherto met with, the rivulets flowed with violence, and in wading through them the water frequently rose above our waists. In addition to this, the rain poured in torrents, so that we found it impossible to lie down on the grass to rest.

We this night encountered two adventures. Close to the shore, at some distance from us, we beheld a flame, which, however, suddenly vanished at our approach. On reaching the spot where we had seen it, we discovered an extremely high rock, but neither hole nor hut whence flame could have issued. It was, perhaps, merely the effect of illusion.

We now made our way into a deep valley, whence we ascended to a level height, by passing along a steep, winding, and well-beaten footpath. Here we met with an accident which not a little distressed us. Mr. Chlebnikoff slipped his foot and fell into a hole. We once heard him stop, but he again rolled further down, and at length we knew not what had become of him. He returned no answer to our questions, and we could not venture to call loudly, as there were villages within hearing of us. The night was so extremely dark, that no

object could be recognised at the distance of ten paces. We tied our girdles together, and fastening the one end about Wassiljeff, let him down into the hole into which Mr. Chlebnikoff had fallen. We lowered him gradually as far as the length of our united sashes would admit, and then drew him up again. Wassiljeff informed us, that, notwithstanding the depth to which he had descended, he could not discover the extent of the hole; and that he called Mr. Chlebnikoff, but received no answer. We therefore resolved to remain on the spot until daylight, and then to lower another of our party into the hole, to ascertain whether Mr. Chlebnikoff was yet living.

We remained for two hours in a state of the most painful uncertainty respecting the fate of our companion. We at length heard a rustling among the grass, and on looking round, to our great joy and astonishment, we beheld him. It appeared that he had first rolled down about two fathoms from the surface, when something stopped him, and he endeavoured to climb up again; he, however, slipped a second time, and fell perpendicularly into a pit, to the depth of some fathoms. Fortunately there were no stones at the bottom of the pit, but he was nevertheless severely bruised. He at length succeeded in climbing up the side of the pit, and reached the spot where he surprised us by his unexpected appearance. After resting for a short time, he again walked on, though complaining of severe pain in every part of his body. Even now, my memory never reverts without horror to the frightful gulfs and huge rocks of Matsmai.

We still continued to ascend steep eminences, and



whilst surrounded on every side by nothing but masses of rock and torrents, we were frequently obliged to hold by small bushes, uncertain whether they were strong enough to bear our weight. Had any of them given way, we must have been precipitated into the abyss below, and dashed to pieces. A loose stone projecting from a rock was frequently our only support. But Heaven watched over us, and, with the exception of Mr. Chlebnikoff's fall, no serious accident occurred. Our desperate situation made us disregard every danger. We climbed up the steepest rocks fearlessly, and even with as much indifference as if we had been proceeding along a level road. My only wish was, in case an accident should occur to me, that it might be a decisive one; and that my fall might be from such a height as would put a speedy end to my suffering.

Before sun-rise on the 30th of April, we proceeded towards the hills, and entered a wood, where we stationed ourselves not far from the road. We dared not kindle a fire, though we should have found it extremely acceptable, for the rain, which still continued with violence, had soaked our clothes completely through. We laid down and covered ourselves with our sails. In the course of the day my companions ate some portion of their store of provisions, but I had lost all appetite for food, though I still suffered severely from thirst.

When night set in, we again directed our course towards the shore. Whilst descending the side of a steep hill, we found we were advancing straight upon a village. In the dark, we missed the footpath, and mistook a heap of straw for a part of the declivity. We had no sooner set our feet upon it than we rolled down, and unexpectedly



found ourselves in front of a house and barn. A dog rushed out upon us, but we calmly proceeded on our way, though certain of having been observed by two men who came out with lanterns.

We all suffered severely from thirst, and never passed a brook without taking hearty draughts of water. Immediately after drinking I felt myself affected with nausea, and the saliva flowed from my mouth. But half an hour would scarcely elapse before I was so overcome with thirst, that, on hearing the murmuring of a rivulet at a distance, promising myself speedy relief, I would redouble my pace; but no sooner had I taken a draught of water than the nausea returned, and I was thus alternately a martyr to thirst and sickness, and could eat nothing.

On the 1st of May we rested on a declivity, beside a rivulet, in a thick wood, near which there was a village, built on a sandy point of land. We observed several horsemen and foot passengers crossing the stream, on the outside of the wood, and people passing along a road near us.

We were obliged to remain the whole day without fire. At night we resumed our journey, but meeting several men with lanterns, we hid ourselves behind the trees until they passed by. As we proceeded onward, we approached several villages. From one of these the dogs rushed out upon us. We were afraid lest the barking of these animals should attract the attention of the Japanese, and we accordingly sat down for concealment behind a heap of sand. The dogs then stood still and growled, but no sooner did we attempt to rise than they flew at us, and by their barking compelled us to return to our ambush. There we remained until the dogs had left us, and

passed through the village without any further interruption.

Passing through another village, we observed a boat in the water, close to the shore, and a tent near it. We advanced to inspect the boat, but Schkajeff, hoping to find some provisions in the tent, entered, thrusting out his hand, and grasped the head of a man, who was sleeping there. The man called out loudly, and fearing that the noise might alarm the inhabitants of the village, and being, besides, uncertain whether the boat would contain us all, we ran off, and concealed ourselves behind some piles of stones. After a short time, we dispatched two of our party to take a survey of the boat, but there was a man seated in it, who was cautiously watching on every side; we, therefore, thought it best to depart.

Before we reached the further end of this village, we observed a large boat which had been dragged ashore. On examination, we found that it was well adapted to our purpose, but it was so far from the water that we despaired of getting it afloat. We proceeded onwards, and soon discovered, under a shed on the shore, a very large boat. It was without sails,\* but was furnished with every other necessary appurtenance, even small buckets for laying in a supply of fresh water. At that moment both wind and weather were favourable; but the boat laid with one side towards the water, and we must consequently have turned it in order to get it afloat. For this effort we felt that our strength was insufficient; and we, therefore, contented ourselves with taking a watering-pot which we found in the boat, and which we thought would serve for a vessel to drink out of.

\* We had sails with us.

the approach of morning drove us once more among hills. Daylight surprised us on the side of a barren plain, covered only here and there with a few scanty shrubs. We beheld footpaths on every side, and villages along the shore, as far as the eye could see. A thick forest, in which we might have concealed ourselves, lay at a distance, that it would have taken us a long time to reach it; we were, therefore, obliged to lie down among the bushes around us. The day being fine, we dried our clothes, and deliberated on new plans. We were well aware that we could obtain provisions only by stealth, and that, after having committed violence, we could no longer be in safety, as the Japanese would redouble their vigilance, and station guards along the coast; all chance, therefore, of reaching a vessel would have been at an end. We thought it a more feasible scheme to possess ourselves of a couple of the g-junks, which were to be met with along the shore. We might then row to a small island covered with wood, and lay between twenty-five and thirty wersts from the coast, and which, when we were at Matsmai, we had seen was uninhabited. We might there build a comfortable hut, kindle fire when we pleased, and during the day gather, without danger of detection, shell-fish and sea-weed for our support. It would thus be easy to wait until an opportunity presented itself, in fine weather, of boarding a loaded vessel sailing past the coast. This was a part of our plan, which we were confident could be executed without difficulty, as during the three days we had been on this part of the coast, we observed that all vessels and boats passed between the land and the coast of Matsmai, and, it appeared, they stood near the island; we were besides aware,

that in the summer, calms very frequently occur in those seas. Should this project fail, we still might, during the summer, when the wind is never violent, and almost always blows from the east coast of Tartary, which is about four hundred and six wersts distant from Matsmai.

But, while we were forming plans for our deliverance, adverse fate was impending. On a hill at some distance, we perceived a woman, who frequently pointed in the direction in which we were, and turned round repeatedly, beckoning with her hand, as if calling on persons to approach her. We soon understood that we were the object of these signs, and we descended into a hollow, in the hope of escaping through it into the heart of the forest; but, before we could reach the bottom of the hollow, we found it suddenly surrounded by men, on foot and on horseback, who gathered to the spot from every side. They raised a frightful cry. Makaroff and I fled to a part covered with bushes, and soon succeeded in getting out of sight. We then lay down to wait for our companions, and to observe the number of our pursuers, and how they were armed. Our first supposition was that they were country people; but, to our astonishment, we found that they were soldiers, headed by an officer on horseback. They were armed with muskets, and bows and arrows, in addition to their sabres and daggers. Our companions were immediately surrounded, and compelled to surrender. From our hiding-place, we saw the Japanese bind their hands behind their backs, and after inquiring respecting Makaroff and me, they conducted them towards the shore. Meanwhile, more Japanese assembled, and the search for Makaroff and me commenced.

From the thicket into which we had crept, we saw



soldiers and peasants searching about for us on both sides of the hollow. At length four soldiers advanced into the centre, two armed with sabres, and two with pikes. The rest ranged themselves in rows on each side of the hollow, and held their muskets and bows and arrows in readiness. Those who approached us thrust their pikes into every bush capable of hiding even a dog; and, at last, came direct upon the one in which we were concealed. When they had advanced pretty near us, Makaroff, who observed me seizing my pike, entreated that I would not attempt defence, or kill any of the Japanese, as such a proceeding might prove highly injurious to the rest of our companions. He further observed, that I might, perhaps, be the means of saving all their lives if I delivered myself up; adding, that as I, who was their commander, had ordered them to attempt their escape, they had felt themselves bound to do so. These words made so deep an impression on me, that I immediately struck my pike in the ground, rose, and stepped out of the bush. Makaroff followed me. The Japanese were filled with amazement at our unexpected appearance. They started back when they first beheld us, but finding that we were unarmed, they advanced boldly, seized us, bound our hands slightly behind our backs, and conducted us to a village on the shore. Our guards never offered us the slightest insult, or ill-treatment of any kind; on the contrary, when they observed that I limped, and walked with pain, two of the soldiers took me by the arms, and assisted me in ascending the hill and passing over slippery places. On reaching the village, they led us into a house, where we found our companions.

Here they gave us *sagi*, boiled rice, salted herrings, radishes, and, finally, tea. Our hands were then tied



behind us ; but there was no repetition of the severity which we had experienced at Kunashier. Having spent about an hour in the village, we proceeded along the shore, under a strong escort, on our return to Matsmai. We observed that the Japanese had fixed small stakes in the ground in every place marked by our footsteps during our nightly wanderings. Where we had turned to ascend the hills, they lost all traces of us ; but recognised our course again among the sand. Our pursuers themselves afterwards informed us that they constantly traced our footsteps, and frequently gained sight of us. They accurately described the places at which we had stopped to rest—where we drank water, &c. We could not, however learn for what reason they did not endeavour to arrest us. It was evident that they had continually followed us, but had avoided seizing us, lest we might have made a desperate resistance, and killed some of their party : perhaps other reasons also induced them to forbear attacking us.

When we passed through villages, the inhabitants flocked from all sides to look at us ; but to the honour of the Japanese, it ought to be observed, that not one of them treated us with anything like derision or mockery ; they all seemed to commiserate our condition, and some of the women even shed tears whilst they presented us with something to eat or drink. The chief of our escort, however, showed us less kindness. For instance, we were obliged to walk, though we might as well have ridden on horseback ; we were not carried across the brooks and rivulets as before, but were desired to wade through them ; and instead of being provided with umbrellas, mats were thrown over us to protect us from the rain.

We were all excessively fatigued, and owing to the pain

in my foot, I could proceed only at a very slow pace ; the chief of the escort, therefore, directed that two soldiers should support me by the arms, and that they should be regularly relieved in performing that duty.

If, during our journey, we complained of thirst, we were permitted to stop and drink water at the first brook we came to. During the night, which was extremely dark, we were led, one behind the other, with great caution, and a lantern was carried before each of us, as well as before the Japanese chief. Men bearing lanterns preceded and followed the escort. When we had to ascend or descend steep hills, a number of country people, who accompanied us from the neighbouring villages, proceeded before us. Each carried a large bundle of straw ; these bundles were laid down at dangerous parts of the road, and when we approached, set on fire ; so that we enjoyed, for a moment, a light as bright as day.

On the following day, the 3rd of May, as we entered a little village, about ten wersts from Matsmai, we met one of the chief officers of the city, and our interpreter, Teske, accompanied by a detachment of imperial soldiers. We immediately halted. The officer said not a word, and manifested neither anger nor displeasure. Teske, however, reproached us for having attempted to escape, and began to search us. One of the sailors told him that he might spare himself the trouble, since he would find nothing ; upon which he replied : " I know very well that I shall find nothing upon you, but the Japanese laws require that you should be searched." In this village, the officer and soldiers who had taken us put on their state uniforms, over which they threw mantles, on account of the rain. On coming near the town, however, they took off these mantles, and the

order of the procession being arranged, we advanced at a slow pace. The concourse of people was very great, and owing to the rain, they all carried umbrellas over their heads, so that they presented a most singular spectacle. Our escort proceeded in the following order: two guides on each side, bearing wooden staves; behind them, nine soldiers, strutting along, with their muskets on their shoulders; we followed one after the other, guarded on each side by soldiers; behind us were nine soldiers with muskets, one after the other; and last of all, the officer who arrested us, on horseback.

We were conducted directly to the castle. Formerly, we had been permitted to enter the court-yard with our hats on; but we were now directed to uncover as soon as we reached the gate. We sat down on benches in the anti-room leading to the Hall of Justice, where boiled rice, pickled radishes, and tea without sugar, were handed to us. At length we were conducted into the Hall of Justice, where, in a few moments, Mr. Moor and Alexei entered, and were directed to station themselves at some distance from us.

All the officers having taken their places, the bunyo entered. No change was perceptible in his countenance: he maintained his accustomed cheerfulness, and expressed not the slightest displeasure at our conduct. Having taken his seat, he inquired, in his usual kind tone, what had induced us to try to escape. I requested the interpreter to state to the bunyo, that, before I answered his question, I wished to inform him that I alone was guilty, and had forced the rest to fly with me, which they were obliged to do, for a refusal to obey my orders would have rendered them liable to punishment, should they ever return to Russia. I further declared, that they

might put me to death; but that it would be most unjust to injure any of my companions. The bunyo replied, that if the Japanese thought fit to put me to death, they would do so without any suggestion on my part; but that if, on the contrary, they did not see the necessity of such a proceeding, all my entreaties would be of no avail.

The bunyo repeated his question. I declared that we had fled because we saw no probability of our being set at liberty, but that everything tended to convince us that it was intended to keep us in perpetual imprisonment. "I never gave you reason," said the bunyo, "to suppose that your confinement would be eternal." "The orders," replied I, "which were received from the capital, directed that all Russian vessels should be seized, and the preparations made in consequence of that order augured nothing favourable to us." "Who informed you of that?" "We learned it from Teske." The bunyo then addressed himself to Teske, but what he said we could not comprehend. We however observed that Teske, during his replies, frequently changed colour.

The bunyo had hitherto addressed his question to me alone; but he now asked Mr. Chlebnikoff and the sailors what had induced them to escape. They replied, that they had merely followed the directions which I, their commander, had given them. On hearing this, Mr. Moor laughed, and said they were no more bound to obey my orders than he, and might have remained behind if they had chosen. He called the sailors blockheads, and affirmed that for prisoners to seek to escape was a thing unknown in Europe. The bunyo, however, seemed to pay but little attention to what Mr. Moor said, and proceeded to inquire by what means we had succeeded in



getting away. He desired to be informed of every particular; at what hour and in what manner we had left the house; what course we had pursued;\* how far we proceeded each day; what articles and provisions we had carried off with us; and, finally, whether any of our guards or attendants had assisted in our escape, or whether we had made our intention known to any Japanese whatever. We answered all these questions by a faithful relation of the whole affair.

The bunyo then wished to know how long we had entertained this resolution, and how long we had imagined it possible to carry it into effect. Mr. Moor now turned towards the sailors, and exhorted them to tell the truth as they would before God, since he had already disclosed everything to the Japanese. Independently of this admonition, we entertained no design of concealment. We however observed, that, notwithstanding Mr. Moor's exhortations to the sailors, he had not adhered very strictly to the truth in giving an account of our deliberations and plans, nor even in relating the projects which he had himself formed. He had represented that his consent to escape with us was merely a pretence, in order that he might detect our plans, and, by disclosing them, perform a service to the bunyo. He stated, that, as far as regarded himself, he would submit to the will of the Emperor of Japan. If he obtained permission to return to his native country, he would immediately depart; if not, he was ready to remain in Japan. When the bunyo afterwards inquired who had written a letter, which had been addressed to him, concerning Alexei, Mr. Moor replied, that

\* We were obliged to trace a plan, representing the situation of our house, and that part of the town through which we passed on leaving it.



He had written it ; but, immediately recollecting himself, he added, that he had merely done so in conformity with my orders.

The bunyo then asked what had been our object in escaping. We replied, that we wished to return to our native country. "But by what means did you expect to execute this design?" "We intended to get on board a large boat, to sail from Matsmai to the Russian Kurile Island, or to the coast of Tartary." "Did you not think it probable, that, after your escape, orders would be issued for keeping a strict watch on all vessels near the coast?" "Yes ; but after a certain time should have elapsed, we hoped to execute our enterprise at some point from whence our escape would be least suspected."

"You must have observed," continued the bunyo, "during your first conveyance hither, as well as during the walks which you were permitted to take, that Matsmai is covered with high hills ; you must have been aware of the difficulty of crossing these hills, and that the populous villages, which lie almost close to each other along the shore, must have precluded the possibility of your escape." "Nevertheless," I replied, "we spent six nights on the coast, and passed through several villages without being perceived. Our enterprise was, indeed, extremely desperate, and to the Japanese may appear absurd : we, however, thought otherwise."

"Suppose you had succeeded ; what would you have said of the Japanese when you returned to Russia?" "All that we have seen and heard during the time we have been among them ; without either adding or concealing anything."

"Did you know that, if you had succeeded in your project, the governor and several other officers must have

answered for your escape with their lives?" "We supposed that the guards might, as is the custom in Europe, have suffered some punishment; but we could not imagine that the Japanese laws were so severe as to condemn innocent men to death." Here Mr. Moor assured the bunyo that we were very well aware of the existence of such a law, since he had himself explained it to us. We replied, that Moor had indeed mentioned something of the kind; but that our European ideas of justice prevented us from giving credit to what he said, and we looked upon it merely as a fabrication which he had invented for the purpose of dissuading us from our design.\*

"Is there," inquired the bunyo, "any European law by which prisoners are justified in making their escape?" "There is no written law to that effect; but when a prisoner has not pledged his parole of honour, he is never considered culpable in escaping." Upon this Mr. Moor made some observations, calculated to make it appear that our answer was false. We called to his recollection the cases of General Beresford, Colonel Park, Sir Sydney Smith, and other individuals, who, within our own recollection, had escaped from imprisonment without any disgrace being attached to them; but Mr. Moor went so far as to affirm that no such examples had ever existed.

\* We really doubted the existence of this law. We had heard that the Japanese government dismissed a bunyo after the attack of the company's ships, notwithstanding the great distance between the coast where the depredations were committed and the place of his residence, and the little reason he had to suspect such measures on the part of the Russians; but we never could have supposed that the governor and several officers must have forfeited their lives because we made our escape. We were, however, afterwards convinced that such really was the law.

The bunyo then delivered a long speech, the substance of which, according to the translation of our interpreter, was as follows: "Had you been natives of Japan, and secretly escaped from your prison, the consequence might have been fatal to you; but as you are foreigners, and ignorant of the Japanese laws, and more particularly as you did not escape with a view to injure the Japanese, but for the sake of returning to your native country, which it is natural you should prefer to every other, our good opinion of you remains unaltered. The bunyo cannot be answerable for the way in which the government may view your conduct, but he will still continue to exert all his endeavours to gain permission for your return to Russia. Until your case be decided, according to the Japanese laws, the sailors must be confined in a prison, but your officers will be lodged in Inweraris."\*

The bunyo then withdrew, and we were conducted into the ante-chamber. We had hitherto been guarded by imperial soldiers, whom we did not know, and who were under the command of the officer who arrested us. That officer entered the ante-chamber, accompanied by a magistrate named Nagakawa-Matataro, who was the fourth in rank next to the governor, and whose office was that of a judge in criminal matters. The officer having delivered us over to his custody, he immediately ordered the soldiers who had accompanied us to retire, and our old acquaintances, the Matsmai soldiers, entered in their stead. Matataro then directed them to bind Mr. Chlebnikoff and me as Japanese officers are bound,

\* "Ro" is the Japanese word signifying prison; what is meant by an "Inwerari" I shall soon have occasion to explain.

and the sailors like common people.\* This being done, we were conducted, between five and six o'clock, to a place of imprisonment, situated about a half or three-quarters of a werst from the castle. It rained, but the multitude of persons, all carrying umbrellas, who assembled to see us was immense.

\* The Japanese bind their officers by fastening a rope round their waists, and tying their hands down by their sides, so that they cannot move them. They tie the hands of common people behind them, as we were bound when in Kunashier.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Cages for the confinement of the prisoners—Japanese mode of dividing day and night—Measuring time—Examination of the captives—The Hall of Justice—Treatment of the prisoners—Their food—An earthquake—Kindness of the guards—Artifices of Mr. Moor—Captain Golownin's illness—A Japanese doctor—Corporeal punishment in Japan—Intolerance of Christianity—Appointment of bunyos—Small stature of the Japanese—Statement of Mr. Moor to the bunyo—Letter relating to trade between Russia and Japan—Generosity of the interpreter, Teske—Encouraging promises.

THE city prison, to which we were conveyed, was situated at the foot of a steep rock. It was surrounded by two wooden fences and an earthen wall, the latter surmounted by *chevaux-de-frize*. Within the inner fence we beheld a large gloomy building, similar to that in which we had been confined when we first arrived at Matsmai, excepting that there were here four cages, one of which was tolerably large, and the other three small. On reaching this prison, the head gaoler, who was named Keeseeskee,\* unbound us one after the other, and searched

\* In Japan the gaoler is equal in rank to an imperial soldier. He is privileged to wear a sword and dagger. Besides his office of keeper of the prison, he is the executioner, and inflicts all *kinds* of punishment on



us from head to foot, making us strip to our shirts. Having searched me first, he directed me to enter the smallest of the four cages, which was six paces in length, five in breadth, and about ten feet high. Mr. Chlebnikoff was put into another cage, somewhat larger and lighter than mine; the third cage was occupied by a Japanese prisoner, and the sailors were all shut up together in the fourth, which was the largest of all, and from its situation by far the best, for it was most exposed to the light and the fresh air; besides, many external objects were visible from it, whereas nothing whatever was to be seen from mine.

We were still unable to guess what the governor meant, when he told us that the sailors would be confined in a real prison, but that we should live in Inweraris; for we now found that our accommodation was considerably worse than theirs. We afterwards learned that the difference consisted in Mr. Chlebnikoff and myself having separate cells, whilst the sailors were confined in one; but this was a favour on which we were not inclined to set much value. Our cages, however, stood close to each other, so that Mr. Chlebnikoff and I could converse without difficulty. The Japanese prisoner began to discourse with Mr. Chlebnikoff. He told him his name, and said that he should be set at liberty in six days. He handed him a piece of salt-fish, in return for which Mr. Chlebnikoff gave him a white cravat, which Keeseeskee happening to see, inquired from whence it came. He carried it away, and showed it to some of his superiors,

criminals. We observed that his countrymen conversed and joked with him; but that they never ate with him, nor smoked tobacco in the same room where he was; they even avoided lighting their pipes at the same fire where he had lighted his.

who ordered it to be deposited along with the rest of our clothes. Mr. Chlebnikoff shared the piece of fish with me, and we were both so much in want of food, that we looked upon it as a delicacy.

Late in the evening, our old attendant, Fok-Masse, accompanied by two other servants, brought our supper, consisting of thin boiled rice, two small pieces of pickled radish for each of us, and warm water to drink. Fok-Masse appeared out of humour; he answered our questions roughly, but never offered to reproach us on the subject of our escape. He brought two lads with him in order to show them the proper mode of attending on us, and teaching them the Russian names of the most necessary things. There was, however, no need of this, as we could express our wants distinctly enough in Japanese. After I had finished my meal, the Japanese handed an old night-gown through the railings of my cage; they likewise gave some things to my companions. The door of our prison was now closed, and we were enveloped in total darkness, for the spars which formed the front railing, and divided the whole from the guard-room, were closed up with boards, so that there was no aperture through which light could penetrate to our cages. After sunset the guards came every half hour with lanterns to inspect our cages, and they even awoke us from our sleep to make us answer their calls. During the summer, the night hours are extremely short with the Japanese, and they were therefore continually disturbing us. They divide the day into twelve hours, reckoning six from sunrise to sunset, and an equal number from sunset to sunrise; consequently the hours are not always equal: when the day is longer than the night, the day hours are the longest, and, when the night is longer than the day, the night hours are longest. To

measure time, they employ a small beam of wood, the upper part of which is covered with glue and white-washed; a narrow groove is made in the glue and filled with a vegetable powder, which burns very slowly; on each side of this groove, at certain distances, there are holes formed for the purpose of nails being driven into them. By these holes, the length of the day and night hours is determined for the space of six months, from the spring to the winter equinox. During the other six months the rule is inverted, the day becoming night hours, and the night day hours. The Japanese ascertain the length of a day hour, and mark it off with nails; they then fill the groove with powder, set light to it at noon, and thus measure their time. The beam is kept in a box, which is laid in a dry place; but the changes of weather have, nevertheless, a great influence on this kind of time-keeper.

The Japanese day begins at midnight, at which time the clock strikes nine, after having given three strokes, as it were to denote that the hour is about to strike. These three strokes precede every hour. One hour after midnight the clock strikes eight, the next hour seven, at sunrise six, then five and four, and at noon again nine. One hour after midday eight, two hours after midday seven, at sunset six, then five, and finally four. At midnight the new day commences. The hours are struck in the following manner: first, one stroke; in a minute and a half a second stroke; and then immediately a third. These three warning strokes announce that the hour is about to be struck. In the space of a minute and a half after, the striking of the hour begins. The strokes succeed each other at intervals of fifteen seconds, except the two last, which follow more rapidly.

On the 4th of May, at daybreak, an officer opened the

doors of our cages, and called us all by our names. At noon we were conducted before the bunyo, with our hands bound in the same way as before. On arriving at the castle, we were ordered to sit down in the ante-chamber of the Hall of Justice, and in a few moments Mr. Moor and Alexei passed by us, and were conducted into the hall.

After a short time, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I were unbound, though the ropes were left round our waists; the sailors had merely their hands and not their elbows loosened. Mr. Moor and Alexei were not bound in any way. We were then led into the Hall of Justice.\* When the bunyo had taken his seat, he repeated many of his old questions, respecting which he now, however, merely required explanations. He then asked me what I thought of my conduct, and whether I supposed I had acted justly or unjustly towards the Japanese. I replied that the Japanese themselves had driven us to the course we adopted, first by treacherously seizing us, and then refusing to credit the statement we made, or to hold any communication with our ships, in case they should come on the part of our government to confirm our declarations. I added that the circumstances of our case fully justified our conduct. The governor expressed astonishment at what I said. "Your seizure," said he, "is an old affair, and need not be spoken of now. I merely ask whether you consider yourselves guilty or innocent. If you declare yourselves not guilty, I can, by no means, represent your case favourably to the emperor."

\* On my complaining that the pain in my foot scarcely permitted me to stand upright, the bunyo desired a seat to be placed for me, and I was permitted to sit during the whole of the examination.



I perceived that he wished us all to acknowledge that we were guilty; and I replied, that were we in a situation to be fairly tried, I could urge many circumstances in our justification; but that we were in the power of the Japanese. They might judge of our conduct as they pleased; but I alone should be considered guilty, since my companions had acted in conformity to my orders.

The bunyo observed that obedience to my commands could only be urged in exculpation of the sailors; that Mr. Chlebnikoff was an officer himself, and ought to have known that he was bound to obey my orders only whilst on board our ship, and not during his imprisonment. Then, turning to Mr. Chlebnikoff, he inquired whether he was ready to acknowledge himself guilty. Far from making any such acknowledgment, Mr. Chlebnikoff began to justify our conduct, and to prove that we could not be condemned by any rule either of equity or humanity. At this the bunyo appeared angry, and he observed that he could not make the emperor acquainted with declarations of that kind. Finally, partly by persuasion, and partly by menaces, he induced us to admit that we had done wrong, and that our conduct would in no way operate to our advantage. With this confession he seemed perfectly satisfied.

We were then dismissed, Mr. Moor and Alexei being ordered to remain behind. When we quitted the Hall of Justice, our hands were again bound, and we were conducted back to prison in the usual way. On entering the cell, I found my old worn-out night-gown taken away, and the wadded one, which had been formerly given me, together with my quilt, substituted in its stead; my companions had likewise been provided for in the same manner during their absence.



We were now treated in all respects like criminals: no distinction was observed between us and the Japanese prisoner who was in the adjacent cage. We naturally thought this treatment severe; but it must be borne in mind, that the Japanese laws respecting criminals are far more humane than those of most European nations. We were now confined in a prison, properly so called, in the same place with a criminal! I will describe our treatment, leaving to the reader to draw his own comparisons.

The cages in which we were confined were kept extremely clean, and even the lobby was swept every day by our attendants. When we were conducted to the castle, our cages were cleaned out, and our coverlets and night-dresses aired in the sun during our absence. Food was brought to us every morning, noon, and evening. At each meal we received thick boiled rice instead of bread. It was dealt out to us in portions which were more than sufficient for Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, though the sailors found the allowance scanty enough\* at the commencement of their imprisonment, when their appetites were keen, owing to the great fatigue and privations they had endured. In addition to rice, we were served with soup made of a kind of sea-weed, and other plants, such as sweet cabbage, wild garlick, and water angelica; to which, for the sake of rendering it savoury, pickled beans (Japanese misso) and some pieces of whale fat were added. In the evening we occasionally received, instead of soup, two pieces of salt-fish, with pickled cabbage. Our drink consisted of warm water, which was brought to us as often

\* Mr. Chlebnikoff and I being unable to eat all that was given us, we sent the remainder of our allowance to the sailors, and the attendants very willingly conveyed it to them; but Keeseeskee at length observed what we did, and was cruel enough to forbid it.

as we wished. If we happened to ask for drink during the night, our guards, without a murmur, called up the servants, and ordered them to bring us water. At first we were not allowed to have combs; and that we might have water to wash with, we were obliged to reserve a part of that which was given us to drink. We were, however, after some time, provided with a comb, which seemed to have been intended for a prison, as the teeth were extremely small, probably to prevent the prisoners from doing themselves any injury with it.

The Japanese showed us particular consideration in some other respects. One night a violent earthquake took place: our prison shook, and we heard a great tumult in the yard, and in the streets. Our guards immediately came to us with lanterns, and desired us not to be alarmed, informing us that it was only an earthquake, which was a very common occurrence in Japan, but was seldom attended with danger. They, probably, did this of their own accord; for, to the honour of the Japanese, I must declare, that many of them treated us with great kindness, and did all they could to console us. One in particular named Gooiso, frequently brought us refreshments unperceived by his comrades: he sometimes desired us to ask for water, and to keep the vessel beside us; then, watching for a favourable opportunity, he would throw away the water, and fill the vessel with tea in its stead. We experienced similar kindness from two other guards; but a soldier, who had been one of the inner guard on the night of our escape, presented the most striking example of humanity. He had accompanied the detachment which was sent in pursuit of us, but not in the rank of a soldier, as on account of his neglect he had been degraded to the position of a servant. From

the moment of our arrest, until our arrival in Matsmai, he never quitted us. His uncombed hair, unshaven beard, and pale countenance, sufficiently indicated the grief of which we were the cause ; yet he saluted us kindly at the first moment he beheld us ; and, far from testifying the least hostility or vindictiveness, he made every exertion to serve us during the journey, by attentions in no way connected with his duty.

A day or two after our last conference with the bunyo, I was conducted alone to the castle, where the two officers next in rank questioned me in the presence of several others. Before I entered the hall, Teske came to me, and said that Mr. Moor was much exasperated against us, and had said many things to our injury. He, however, added, that I need give myself no uneasiness about it, since the Japanese were not inclined to believe what Moor said. He, moreover, informed me that Moor had offered to enter the Japanese service. In consequence of this information, I requested, before the officers began their interrogatories, that they would permit me to state my sentiments freely, and that the interpreter should be directed to translate what I might say as faithfully as possible. This was assented to. I then asked whether, supposing three Japanese officers should be made prisoners in any part of the world, they would be well pleased to find that one of the three had conducted himself as Mr. Moor had done ? They smiled, and said certainly not. The eldest of the officers added, that I had nothing to fear on that ground, for all Russians were alike to the Japanese, and they only wanted to be made acquainted with the real circumstances of the case. According to the Japanese laws, added he, nothing can be done with precipitation : though you are now in a prison, when the new bunyo

comes, a better place of abode, and even a house will be allotted to you : and I have reason to believe that the government will send you back to Russia.

The officers then referred to a manuscript spread out before them, and asked a great number of questions concerning our navigation, the object of the expedition, the situation of Russia, and its political relations with other European states, particularly with France. I perceived that they derived all their information from Mr. Moor, and found it frequently necessary to correct the erroneous impressions they had imbibed.

Shortly after this examination we were visited in the prison by the officer, Nagakawa-Matataro, accompanied by the two interpreters. They brought along with them copies of our declarations, for the purpose of reading them over and verifying them. We perceived that our statements concerning the way in which we had procured the knife, and obtained information of the orders given for attacking the Russian vessels, and for dispatching troops and cannon to Kunashier, were all struck out ; and the officers informed us that we must say nothing more on these subjects in the presence of the bunyo.\* They, doubtless, wished to screen the Japanese who were implicated in the affair. We had been much distressed at the idea of any evil befalling either Teske or the innocent soldiers and attendants, through whose negligence we had obtained the knife, and were consequently very well pleased with this proposal. But we could not so readily agree to what they next required ; and a warm dispute arose, in the course

\* These omissions show that great strictness was not observed with regard to placing our declaration on record ; but the evidence was in this case suppressed for the purpose of saving innocent persons from punishment.

of which Matataro, flew into a rage, reproached, and even threatened us. They proposed that we should justify Mr. Moor, by declaring that his consent to escape was a mere pretence, and that he had never mentioned to Simanoff and Wassiljeff his readiness to join us in the attempt. To this we would not assent. We observed, that whatever Mr. Moor's real intentions might be, his declarations certainly bore the appearance of sincerity, and that we were convinced he would have escaped along with us, but that want of courage deterred him. We had very good reasons for not assisting him in extricating himself from the difficulty; and I think it necessary to state these reasons, lest we should be accused of a wish to injure him from motives of revenge.

I have already mentioned that Mr. Moor endeavoured to convince the Japanese that he was a German, and not a Russian. Had we asserted that he had no participation in our plans, he might probably have been sent in a Dutch ship to Germany, his pretended native country, whence he could easily have proceeded to Russia. He might then, without fear of contradiction, have related a tale of his own contrivance, perhaps declaring his conduct to have been the effect of ill-treatment which he had received from us. This idea determined us not to depart in the slightest degree from the truth, for the sake of justifying Mr. Moor. Could our testimony have been the means of procuring for him any other advantage than that of bringing about his return to Europe, we would readily have agreed to anything, though he had endeavoured to injure us by all possible means.\* Matataro

\* Of this I will merely mention the following instance. When we were searched at Kunashier, the Japanese took from me a pocket-book. I shortly afterwards recollected that among many other things, the names



visited us for three or four successive days, and urged us to contradict what we had before said of Mr. Moor; but finding our resolution unalterable, he at length desisted from his useless persuasion. We are ignorant whether or not any alteration was made in our testimony in this respect.

I was now afraid that Mr. Moor would, by his artifice, at last succeed in so far conciliating the Japanese, as to gain permission to return to Russia, where his misrepresentations might brand our names with eternal disgrace. This reflection filled me with despair, and brought on a serious indisposition. For the space of a week or ten days no physician appeared, though the sailors had long before applied for medical attendance; but at length my condition excited compassion, and a physician was sent daily. Notwithstanding the weak state to which I was reduced, I insisted that the physician should bleed me; but he would not consent to do this until he had obtained the governor's permission. Permission being granted, the doctor, with a trembling hand, proceeded to open a vein, but his courage failed him, and he was unable to perform the operation. In justice to the worthy bunyo, Arroa-Madsimano-Kami, I must observe, that when he was made acquainted with my illness, he sent Nagakawa-

of Davydoff and Chwostoff were written down in this book; and I consulted with Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff on what I should say if asked for an explanation of that memorandum. We then regarded each other as brothers; we were animated by one spirit and one heart. Mr. Moor had, however, since told the Japanese that the names of Davydoff and Chwostoff were inserted in my pocket-book, and that they were, moreover, my friends. Teske informed us of this circumstance, and observed, that we need be apprehensive of no ill consequences, since, as he expressed himself, Mr. Moor had made the communication unnecessarily, for in fact, no questions had been asked on this subject.

Matataro to assure me that we should not be treated with severity; that on the arrival of the new bunyo, we should be removed to a better place of residence, and that both bunyos would then exert all their influence to obtain our liberation. In interpreting this message, Kumaddschero was so deeply moved, that he melted into tears; and though I doubted the sincerity of the Japanese, yet, nevertheless, this assurance afforded me some consolation.

We were now supplied with better food: we were frequently treated with a kind of pudding, which they called tufa; fine beans were boiled with our rice, forming a dish which is considered a great delicacy in Japan; even chicken soup was given us on one or two occasions; and for our drink, we had always tea instead of water. This change was a consequence of an order of the bunyo, and obtained through Teske's intercession.

During our confinement in the city prison, a circumstance occurred which I cannot pass over in silence. Our neighbour, the Japanese criminal, who remained with us longer than the six days which he told us would terminate his imprisonment, at length underwent the punishment to which he had been adjudged in the court-yard.\* An

\* The crime which this man had committed was as follows: Having visited a public bathing-house, he changed his old clothes, as if by mistake, for a better suit belonging to some other individual. He was several times conveyed before a judge, with his hands tied behind his back. At length he received twenty-five stripes, and the same punishment was repeated after the lapse of three days. What instrument was used in the infliction of this chastisement we know not, but we distinctly heard the stripes, and the cries of the offender. He returned with his back naked and bleeding to the prison. The attendants spat on his shoulders, and rubbed the saliva over the lacerated parts, and thus cured him. His hands were afterwards marked, to show that he had been

officer, with the criminal judge, Matataro, and the interpreter, Kumaddschero, came, by order of the governor, to acquaint us that we must not suppose that a similar fate awaited us; for, according to the Japanese laws, no foreigner could be condemned to suffer corporal punishment. We looked upon this assurance as merely intended to console us; but we afterwards learned that a law to that effect really exists; and that the only foreigners to whom its protection does not extend are those who attempt to induce Japanese subjects to embrace Christianity. The laws are extremely rigorous against teachers of the Christian faith. The Japanese, however, grant full liberty to a variety of sects, besides permitting the public profession of even the Kurile religion; but they are quite intolerant to Christianity, owing to the troubles it has occasioned among them. The Catholic priests, who formerly lived in Japan, and enjoyed every possible freedom, preached the Christian faith, and converted a great number of the natives; but at last the progress of the new religion gave rise to a dreadful civil war. For this reason, after the complete extirpation of the Christians, the following inscription was placed at the head of the stone tablets of laws, which are fixed up in all public places, and even in the streets: "Whoever knows any individual who has taught Christianity, and can convict him thereof, shall receive a reward of five hundred silver pieces." There is likewise a law prohibiting masters from hiring servants, until they receive from them a written assurance of their not being Christians. In Nangasaky, where Christianity had made the greatest progress, there is a staircase, on

punished, and he was then sent to the northern Kurile Islands, in the possession of the Japanese.

the steps of which are laid various ornaments and utensils of the Catholic church, and on the first step a crucifix. On New Year's Day, all the inhabitants of Nangasaky are obliged to ascend these steps; and, as a proof that they are not Christians, to trample on the articles. The interpreter assured us, that many Christians who live at Nangasaky comply with this regulation from interested motives and from fear.

In the middle of June we were carried twice every day before the bunyo, in whose presence, and that of several officers, our depositions were read, and our opinion asked with respect to their correctness. Every circumstance that might have tended to criminate the Japanese was carefully omitted, and, in conformity with our promise, we made no allusion to them. When, however, Mr. Moor's declaration was read, we made no hesitation in contradicting several of his assertions. He protested that he was entirely blameless, and declared that he had never persuaded the sailors to attempt escape. On hearing this, Schkajeff exclaimed: "Think on heaven and your conscience, Feodor Feodorowitsch! Can you ever hope to return to Russia?" Mr. Chlebnikoff and I desired him to be silent; but these few words made a deep impression on Mr. Moor, and we paid dearly for them, as will appear in the sequel. The Japanese, who observed our disagreement, took upon themselves the task of correcting our depositions, and dismissed us.

The new bunyo, Oga-Sawara-Isseno-Kami, arrived at Matsmai on the 29th of June, and on the 2nd of July we were conducted to the castle. We found assembled in the Hall of Justice all the officers who were usually present at our examinations, together with Mr. Moor and Alexei. On my entering the hall Mr. Moor addressed me, and



said, that we had no reason to fear, as all was going on well. When we had waited about half an hour, the two bunyos appeared, with their suites. They were each preceded by an officer. The new bunyo was the oldest man of the two,\* and in his suite there were two officers more than in that of the late bunyo. He entered first, and having taken his seat, the old bunyo seated himself on his right. Pointing to his colleague he observed, that he, Oga-Sawara-Isseno-Kami, was the new bunyo, appointed to relieve him, and desired us to tell him our names and ranks. We did so, and the old bunyo then directed an officer to bring in a roll of paper, which, he said, had been written by Mr. Moor. He desired us to read it, and then to say whether we approved of its contents. The bunyos then retired, and left us to deliver our opinion to the officers. Mr. Moor himself read his paper; in which, after many compliments to both bunyos, he described all the plans we had formed for our escape. He asserted that his agreeing to escape with us was a mere pretext; construed all we had said in a way calculated to injure us; in the opinion of the Japanese, explained the object of

\* In Japan, the situation of bunyo is always filled by noblemen, who are called "Chadamodo," and are the principal personages in the empire, next to the princes who govern principalities (damyo). The precedence of these noblemen depends on the services and antiquity of their families, according to which, also, they are appointed to posts of honour. The new governor was several years older than his predecessor. He was seventy-four years of age, and the other fifty; but they both appeared much younger than they really were, which is in general the case with the Japanese. The new bunyo looked like a giant among his countrymen; he was as tall as our sailors, and was therefore looked upon as a wonder. Before his arrival, they often told us that a giant was coming, and that we should see there were people in Japan as tall as the Russians. We, besides, saw an officer in the service of the Prince of Nambu, who would have been considered a tall man even in Europe.



our voyage, and minutely described the situation of eastern Russia, and the political relations between France and the Russian empire after the peace of Tilsit. In conclusion, he entreated that the Japanese would pardon us.

Having heard the paper to an end, we began to point out all that was not conformable to truth; but of this, the Japanese expressed their disapprobation, and declared that we had no right to dispute with Mr. Moor. I replied, that if they were resolved to give full credit to Moor's declarations, it would be of no use for us to say anything, as there were no witnesses to decide between us. Mr. Chlebnikoff, however, still wished to contradict some statements in the paper; but the Japanese became irritated, and he desisted. We, however, resolved not to sign Moor's declaration, in case of our being required so to do; but no such proposal was made.

The two bunyos again entered the hall, and one of the officers informed them that the paper had been read to us; but what he stated, as our opinion of it, we could not understand. The new bunyo then drew from his bosom a letter, folded in the European manner, which he handed to his predecessor. The latter delivered it to one of the officers, who gave it to the interpreter, and it was at last handed to me. The Russian superscription was as follows: "To the Governor of Matsmai." Within the cover, was a paper containing the following words, with a French translation:—

"The proximity of Russia and Japan renders it desirable that friendly and commercial relations should be established between them, which could not fail to operate to the advantage of the inhabitants of the latter empire. With this view, an embassy was dispatched to

Nangasaky. But the offensive and repulsive answer given by the Japanese to the proposals made to them, and the extension of their trade to the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, which are Russian possessions, render it at last necessary for the Emperor of Russia to adopt measures which may prove his power to check the trade of the Japanese, until the Russians shall be informed, by the inhabitants of Ooroo or Sagaleen, that the Japanese are ready to enter into commercial relations with them. The Russians intend, by resorting to these mild measures against Japan, merely to demonstrate that the northern parts of that empire are entirely at their mercy, and that the obstinacy of the Japanese Government in opposing all intercourse, must, if persisted in, terminate in the loss of these countries."

This paper had neither date nor signature, and contained no indication of the authority under which it had been sent to Japan. We, therefore, endeavoured to prove, and in this instance Mr. Moor supported us, that Chwostoff had been the author of it.

The new bunyo observed, that he did not mean to inquire whether the paper had been forged, or whether it had been sent to Japan by order of the Russian Government; he merely wished to be made acquainted with its contents, for the purpose of communicating them to his Emperor. We immediately gave him a verbal translation, and Mr. Moor drew up a written one. They then showed us two documents which Chwostoff had presented to the inhabitants of Sagaleen along with the medals. The contents of these two papers perfectly corresponded with the preceding, so that we were not required to translate them.

In conclusion, the new bunyo informed us, that in

a short time we should be removed to a new place of abode; that our condition would be, in all respects, ameliorated. Both the bunyos then withdrew, and we were conveyed back to prison.

From this day a marked change took place in the Japanese attendants. They became much more friendly and civil than before. Teske informed us, that after our escape, Mr. Moor and Alexei had been removed to our first place of confinement in Matsmai, which was now again being prepared for us. A separate apartment was to be fitted up for Mr. Moor and Alexei, and we could not be removed until that was completed. Teske, besides, assured us that, at the farewell audience of the new governor, the Emperor ordered him to take care of our health; and after his arrival at Matsmai, to do everything to render our situation comfortable.

Meanwhile, a circumstance occurred which displayed in the strongest light the kind-heartedness and generosity of our interpreter, Teske. When I landed at Kunashier, I had accidentally in my pocket the rough copy of a letter, which I had been preparing with the view of sending it to the Japanese, in case of their still declining any intercourse with us.

In this letter I upbraided them with their cowardly conduct in firing upon unarmed men, and even held out several threats to them. I added, that without the consent of our government, no officer could adopt measures of hostility even in self-defence; and that this circumstance, and not fear, made me refrain from resenting their attack. Mr. Moor knew that I had the letter, and informed the Japanese of its contents. It had been preserved along with the rest of our things, and when it was produced, Teske was ordered to translate it.

Mr. Moor explained every syllable to Teske; but the latter, observing that many words, and even whole sentences were struck out, turned this circumstance to our advantage, by omitting all expressions which might give offence to the Japanese Government, and translating only such as tended to justify us. The rest he declared could not be deciphered. It would not have been in his power to have done this, had I written out a fair copy of the letter.

On the 9th of July we were again carried before the two bunyos. The new bunyo told us that since we had escaped merely in the hope of returning to our native country, and not with the view of injuring the Japanese, he had resolved, with the consent of his predecessor, to better our situation, trusting that we would not make any such attempt again, but patiently await the decision of the Emperor of Japan. He added, that they would both employ all the interest they possessed to obtain our freedom. He had no sooner uttered these words, than the ropes with which we were bound were removed as if by magic; the soldiers who were stationed behind us had, without our knowledge, loosened them, and disposed them in such a way that they could remove them in an instant.

The old bunyo assured us, that his friendship for us continued unabated, and that he would take the same interest in our fate as he had hitherto done. He then wished us good health, and took his leave, exhorting us to pray to God, and to trust to his mercy.

We were then conducted from the castle.

## CHAPTER IX.

Improved treatment of the prisoners—They endeavour to learn Japanese writing—Assiduity of the sailor, Schkajeff, in learning to read and write—Extraordinary cure—Interchange of presents—Letters from Mr. Rikord—Capture of Japanese by the Russians—Death of the bunyo—Rigorous law against Japanese living among Christians—A rich Japanese merchant and his wife—Letter from an officer of the 'Diana'—Curious Japanese proverb—Discovery of secret correspondence—New Year's Day hopes.

INSTEAD of being conveyed back to the city prison, we were carried to the Oksio, in which we had been confined on our first arrival at Matsmai. Mr. Chlebnikoff, myself, and the sailors, were confined together; but for Mr. Moor and Alexei an additional apartment had been built, to which there was a separate entrance from the court-yard. Our change of residence was accompanied with improvements in our treatment. The articles of food with which we were supplied, were better than those which had been formerly given to us at the same place. We were supplied with a cup of sagi\* every day, and

\* The oldest of our attendants was a man named Yeske. He was extremely fond of strong liquors, and laid it down as a maxim, that to drink seldom, and to take hearty draughts at once, was better than to drink frequently and in small quantities. Instead, therefore, of giving us



furnished with pipes, and tobacco-pouches filled with very good tobacco. A kettle with tea was constantly standing on our hearth. We were allowed to have combs, hand-towels, and even curtains to keep off the flies, which were very numerous. We, moreover, had the use of our books, and were provided with ink and paper. We now collected Japanese words, and wrote them down in the Russian character. At length it occurred to us that we might learn to write Japanese. We requested that the interpreter, Kumaddschero, would make out an alphabet for us; but this he declined doing until he obtained the permission of his superiors. He afterwards told us, that the Japanese laws prohibited the teaching Christians to read and write their language; and that, consequently, he would not be permitted to write the alphabet for us. We were, therefore, obliged to content ourselves with making lists of Japanese words written in the Russian character.

On the 14th of July, the old bunyo departed from Matsmai, taking along with him our friend Teske, in quality of secretary. Teske promised to write from the capital, to inform us in what state our case stood; he requested that we would not fail to reply to him, and desired us to give our letters to Kumaddschero to be forwarded. We did not expect for some time to hear anything decisive from the capital, knowing that the

one cup of *sagi* regularly each day, he supplied us with two cups at once; but he never neglected to help himself abundantly on all these occasions, and he was, consequently, intoxicated almost every evening. At length the guards discovered from what source he derived supplies for his inebriety, and interposed their authority. After this Yeske no longer made free with our *sagi*, but waited till we thought fit to share it with him.

governor would not arrive there in less than twenty-three or twenty-five days,\* but we daily hoped to hear of the arrival of Russian ships, though we sometimes doubted whether the Japanese would tell us either when they arrived, or what was the object of their visit.

Meanwhile, we passed our time in smoking tobacco, reading over again our old books, and collecting and recording Japanese words. I began to note down, on small slips of paper, all our adventures, interspersed with my own observations. In doing this, I wrote only half sentences and arbitrary signs, mingling Russian, French, and English words together, in such a way that none but myself could decypher the manuscript. Fearing lest the Japanese might some time or other search us, and seize on these papers, I concealed them beneath my sash, in a little bag which Simanoff had made for me out of part of an old waistcoat. But the previous conduct of the Japanese gave us little reason to fear that they

\* The passage lies across the Straits of Sangar from Matsmai to a well-sheltered bay near the city of Mimayu. The distance across the straits is about thirteen Japanese rees (about fifty-two wersts); and as this passage is never undertaken except with a favourable wind, it generally occupies only a few hours. Mimayu is about two hundred rees, or eight hundred wersts from Yeddo. Persons of distinction travel in litters or sedan chairs, and the common people ride on horseback. A great number of men are, therefore, always kept at the post stations. We were assured that the litter-bearers, from long experience, proceed with so much steadiness, that if a glass of water was placed in the litter, not a drop would be spilt. In dry weather, when the roads are good, the journey from Mimayu to Yeddo may be performed in twenty-three days. The couriers from Matsmai, who go on horseback, arrive in the capital in seven, and sometimes in six days; but this is the extreme of their expedition in travelling. The general post with letters departs only once every month, and is usually fourteen days in completing the journey.

would deprive us of our papers ; for, when we made our escape, Schkajeff had along with him the rough copy of our first memorial to the governor, and, though the guards took it from him, it was never afterwards alluded to in any way. Mr. Chlebnikoff's compass likewise fell into their hands, but they never made it the subject of inquiry. They, probably, did not understand its nature. Had they been aware that it was a compass, they would doubtless have inquired how we had contrived to make it.\*

✓ The new bunyo proved himself to be no less kindly disposed towards us than his predecessor. According to the Japanese laws, he could not grant us permission to walk out ; but he gave orders that the doors of our prison should be kept open all day, that we might enjoy the air. We likewise received, by his orders, fresh fruit. Apples, common pears, and\* bergamots, were not then perfectly ripe ; but they suited the taste of the Japanese, who are extremely fond of acids. In the yard of our house, there was a peach-tree loaded with fruit ; but all the peaches were plucked and eaten before they were ripe. We could eat them only when they were baked ; but the Japanese greedily devoured them either raw or baked.

Once, on a festival day, the bunyo sent us a supper

\* The manner in which Simanoff concealed his knife was singular enough, though I did not recollect to mention it before. Whilst the gaoler was searching Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, the eyes of all the guards and attendants were turned towards us. In the meantime Simanoff had sufficient presence of mind to throw the knife on the ground, close to the cage which was allotted to the sailors. During the night, he stretched his hand through the palisades, and recovered it. From that time it remained in our possession, and I still keep it as a memorial of our adventures.

which had been prepared in his own kitchen.\* Our guards treated us with much civility, giving us sometimes *sagi*, fruit, &c., and these acts of kindness were no longer performed by stealth. An old man, seventy years of age, brought some fans and lackered spoons for Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, and an ink-stand, ink, and pencil, for Schkajeff, who, though suffering from severe illness, was exceedingly anxious to practise reading and writing. This man, though arrived at the age of thirty-two in total ignorance, had, whilst on board the sloop, by extreme application, learnt to read, and likewise to write a little. To pass away the time, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I took upon ourselves the task of instructing the sailors. Schkajeff, who suffered severely from indisposition, feared lest the others might advance more rapidly than he, and, whenever he experienced the least mitigation of his illness, never failed to employ himself either in reading or writing. He applied to both with unremitting assiduity, whilst his companions regarded the task of learning to read as too difficult, and abandoned it before they had acquired the alphabet. Mr. Chlebnikoff gave him instructions every evening, so that in time he could read and write tolerably well. He used to read to the rest of the sailors, from

\* This happened in the middle of August, on a day which is a great children's festival. In the evening the male children assemble in the castle, where, in the presence of the governor and all the officers of state, they play, sing, dance, wrestle, and fence with sabres. They afterwards partake of a supper, consisting of various kinds of delicacies. Kumadderschero assured us, that on this occasion upwards of one thousand five hundred children were assembled in the castle; but none are admitted whose parents cannot afford to dress them well. Those who are badly dressed are, indeed, ashamed to appear in the assembly. Girls are never admitted, as the Japanese laws prohibit females from entering fortified places. ✓



a file of Moscow journals, and gave them explanations of what he read. Schkajeff was a countryman of the great Lomonosoff. The disorder with which he became afflicted, and which showed itself after we were taken, was an extraordinary swelling of the legs. The Japanese physician gave him a decoction to drink, and burned moxa on the swollen parts; Schkajeff, however, looked upon these remedies as useless, and begged to have some radish-juice to rub upon the swellings, which, he said, had cured him of the same disorder when he was in Russia. At length, the physician reluctantly consented to make a trial of the radish-juice, which certainly cured the swelling, for it reduced his limbs to mere skin and bone. He was then afflicted with such severe pains, that he frequently prayed for death to release him from his sufferings. The Japanese physician gave him a decoction of herbs, and put him into a warm bath, in which a bag containing roots and herbs had previously been soaked. These applications, repeated for the space of seven months, completely cured him.

In return for the civilities we experienced, we gave the Japanese some European articles, on which, particularly fine cloth, they set the highest value. They regard as curiosities any rags of European manufacture, and make them into purses, bags for letters and tobacco, and cases for their pipes. We therefore distributed among them the trowsers, stockings, and handkerchiefs, which were at our disposal, for which they overwhelmed us with thanks. It was necessary, however, to give to each his portion privately; for had it been offered in the presence of others, it would not have been accepted.

Nothing remarkable occurred until September; but I cannot omit mentioning a circumstance which is cha-



racteristic of the customs of the Japanese. One day, a dinner was sent to us of far better quality than that to which we had been accustomed, and it was served in elegant dishes. Every person who visited us congratulated us on receiving this compliment, which we concluded came from the bunyo; but we afterwards learned that the dinner had been sent by a rich man, who was suffering under a dangerous fit of illness; and that in such cases it was customary for the Japanese to send presents of that sort to the poor and unfortunate.

On the afternoon of the 6th of September, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where we found assembled all the most distinguished officers, with the exception of the bunyo, who was confined through illness. They showed us two papers which had been sent ashore from the 'Diana,' and which were dated the 28th of August.\* The first was a letter from Mr. Rikord, who, after my capture, had taken the command of the 'Diana.' It was addressed to the Governor of Kunashier. The letter stated that Mr. Rikord had, by command of the Emperor of Russia, conveyed to their native country certain Japanese who had been saved on the coasts of Kamtschatka after shipwreck, and among whom was

\* Had the papers been sent from the sloop on the day on which they were dated, they would probably not reach Kunashier until the evening of the 28th. They were received in Matsmai on the morning of the 6th of September. They were, consequently, seven days and a half upon the road, and owing to their importance, they were, no doubt, conveyed with the greatest possible dispatch. The Japanese reckon the distance from Kunashier to Matsmai, by land, to be about two hundred and eighty rees, that is to say, one thousand two hundred wersts. From this instance, some notion may therefore be formed of the speed with which couriers travel express in Japan.

a Matsmai merchant, named Leonsaimo. He further informed the governor, that the 'Diana' was the same vessel which, about a year before, had, in consequence of wanting wood and water, entered that harbour, when the captain, together with two officers, four sailors, and a Kurile, had been enticed into the garrison, treacherously detained, whilst their countrymen were ignorant of their fate. He likewise assured the Governor of Kunashier of the friendly disposition entertained by the Emperor of Russia towards the Japanese; requested to know whether the governor could himself grant us our liberty, and if not, to be informed how soon he might expect from the Japanese Government an answer to his demand for our liberation. He, moreover, wished to know where we were, and intimated that he would not quit the harbour until all his inquiries were answered. In conclusion, he begged permission to take on board the vessel a supply of fresh water.

The second paper was a letter from Mr. Rikord to me, informing me of his arrival at Kunashier, and stating that he had sent to the governor of the island an explanation of the object of his voyage, both in the Russian and Japanese languages. As he knew not whether I was dead or living, he requested, in case I should not be permitted to write an answer, that I would tear out the line of his letter which contained the word "living," and return it by the Japanese whom he had sent on shore, to satisfy him respecting our fate. I experienced great emotion on reading this letter from my esteemed shipmate and friend; it even made an impression on Mr. Moor, who began from that moment to manifest his former amicable feeling to us.

In conformity with the wish of the Japanese, we gave

them a verbal translation of the letters ; and they desired us to take copies of both, that, with the help of Kumaddschero, we might make written translations. They kept the originals in their own possession.

My companions were overjoyed on hearing of the arrival of the 'Diana.' It was evident from Mr. Rikord's letter, that the Russian Government was not disposed to adopt violent measures ; but wished, by gentle means, to bring the Japanese to reason. In the meanwhile, we experienced all the agitation of alternate fear and hope. We begged permission to write to Mr. Rikord, were it only a single line, to inform him that we were still living. Our attendants undertook to make this request known to the bunyo, but we were informed that this permission could not be granted without an order from the capital. We asked the interpreter and the guards whether our countrymen had been well treated by the Japanese at Kunashier, and whether their enquiries had been answered. They replied that they could not give us any precise information, but that they believed all we could wish had been done.

Meanwhile, the papers were translated, and immediately sent off to Yeddo ; but we knew nothing of the orders which were transmitted to the Governor of Kunashier. Kumaddschero informed us that Captain Rikord had come with two vessels, the one with two and the other with three masts,\* and that he had sent four Japanese ashore, one after the other. This last circumstance, as it augured nothing favourable, gave us some uneasiness. From the Japanese being sent ashore

\* The latter was the 'Diana.'

one after the other, we apprehended that Captain Rikord had received no answer to his inquiries.

Mr. Moor now endeavoured to renew his former friendly footing with us. He sent me a book, in which was concealed a slip of paper, informing me that there were eighty men on board one of our ships, and forty men and four women on board the other. This he had learned from one of the guards.

Two officers (*shrabiagus*) appeared on the 20th of September, and by order of the governor informed us that the Russian ships had, a few days before, sailed from Kunashier,\* without leaving any letters either for us or the Japanese. After a short pause, the officers added, that our ships had detained a Japanese vessel bound from Eetooroop to Kunashier, and had carried off five of the crew. They inquired what could have been the object of our countrymen in doing this. We replied that we knew not, but that they had probably carried off the men in the hope of obtaining some positive information respecting our fate; and that, in that case, they would doubtless send them back in the following year. "This is our opinion likewise," observed the officers, and immediately took their leave.

We were much concerned at hearing this news, particularly as we knew not under what circumstances the capture of the Japanese had taken place. We were at a loss to conjecture whether these five men composed the whole crew of the Japanese ship, or whether Captain Rikord had selected them from among the rest.† We

\* The 10th or 11th of September, according to our reckoning.

† When Chwostoff captured a Japanese ship near Sagaleen, the crew

were, moreover, ignorant in what way our countrymen had treated the Japanese, and also what had become of the vessel; but we were most of all distressed by the answers of our interpreters and guards, who constantly declared that they knew nothing of the matter, whenever we questioned them concerning this event. Two of these guards regarded us with feelings of hostility, which they sought not to conceal; and, in an angry tone, told the sailors that, since the Russians had captured a Japanese ship, we might give up all hopes of being set at liberty.

At length, Mr. Moor contrived, by writing on slips of papers and sending them to me in books, to communicate information which he had obtained from one of the guards, who was less reserved than the rest; he begged, however, that I would not distress my companions by disclosing it completely to them. As our ships approached Kunashier, the Japanese began to fire upon them from the garrison; but without reaching them. Regardless of this attack of the castle, the ships proceeded quietly to take on board a supply of fresh water. In the meanwhile, a Japanese vessel approached the harbour, and a boat was dispatched from one of our ships to board it. On seeing this, several of the crew of the Japanese vessel, through fear, plunged into the water, and six were drowned.\* When the Russians took the vessel, they put all the Japanese who were on board in irons; but, on being informed that we were alive, they immediately relieved them from that restraint, gave them presents,

jumped overboard, in the hope of swimming ashore. Four men however concealed themselves in the vessel, and were made prisoners. We feared that an accident of a similar nature had again occurred.

\* We afterwards learned that nine men had been drowned.



and detaining only five, set all the rest free, and restored the vessel to them. I also learned from Mr. Moor, that the Japanese Government had condemned Alexei's companions, the Kuriles, to forfeit their heads, on discovering that they had been sent by the Russians as spies to inspect the villages and fortresses of Japan; but the generous Arrao-Madsimano-Kami represented that the Japanese would disgrace themselves by putting to death these unfortunate Kuriles, who, instead of acting from any will of their own, had been compelled blindly to obey the orders of the Russians. He, therefore, proposed that, after giving them presents, they should be set at liberty; and the government adopted his humane advice. This circumstance did not correspond with the assurance we had formerly received, that no foreigner could suffer corporeal punishment in Japan. But we reflected that the Japanese might have regarded the Kuriles as their subjects, though they did not publicly declare them to be such, through dread of involving themselves in a war with Russia.

I must here observe, that the Japanese always caused our clothes to be made in the European fashion. We likewise saluted the officers according to the European manner, and sat on benches, which were provided for us without any solicitation on our part. But Alexei, though he wore a Russian sailor's dress at the time he was taken prisoner, was ever afterwards furnished with Japanese clothes, and was obliged to show his respect to the governor and the officers in the Japanese style. The interpreters frequently told us, that it was more than three hundred years since the Japanese had visited the Kurile Islands as far as Kamtschatka; that they might easily have retained possession of them; and

that the Kuriles and Japanese were originally the same people. In support of this assertion, they referred to the number of words which are common to both languages. The conjecture is, indeed, not improbable. I believe also that they must have visited Kamtschatka frequently, for they call it by the same name as the Kamtschatdales themselves do, namely, Kurumyschi. They have, besides, adopted many other Kamtschatdale names.

When we inquired what had been said by the Japanese who returned from Russia, our interpreter, Kumaddscherō, replied, that they confirmed all our declarations. He informed us, that one of them, named Gorodsee, had been carried off by Chwostoff from the Island of Eetooroop; a circumstance not mentioned in Captain Rikord's letters, in which this man was described as a Matsmai merchant, named Leonomsai. On reading the letters, the Japanese immediately observed that there was no merchant of that name in Matsmai, and that he must belong to some other place. The fact was, that the man himself had made this representation, thinking it expedient to deceive the Russians. He assumed a false name, and stated himself to be a merchant, though he was merely employed as the overseer of a fishery at Eetooroop. One of his companions, who had been carried off along with him, died, after they had made their escape from Okotzk, in consequence of eating too great a quantity of whale flesh. Gorodsee had, however, been taken by the Tongusians, who delivered him up to the Russians. Kumaddscherō's assurance, that the declarations of the Japanese who had been sent home, perfectly coincided with ours, was confirmed by the circumstance of the bunyo sending us

new silk dresses, although we had no need of a fresh supply of clothes.\*

Some time after this, we learned from Mr. Moor that the bunyo was dead, but that the Japanese laws required that his death should be kept secret for a certain time.† Two days afterwards, one of our guards likewise informed us of the event, begging we would not mention it to any of the Japanese. We were concerned to hear of the death of the bunyo, who was universally esteemed to be an excellent man, and who was disposed to show us every kindness.

About the middle of October, Mr. Moor and myself were conducted to the castle, where the two senior officers of state, together with several others, had assembled. One of the senior officers, named Taka-Hassi-Sampeï, had been but a short time in Matsmai. He was the eldest of the two; and his rank was that of a ginmiyaku. We found him to be an extremely humane man. The kindness with which he treated us may, perhaps, be accounted for, from his having, in his youth, been visited

\* It being understood that one of our sailors had learned the trade of a tailor, merely the materials were sent, that we might have our clothes made in whatever way we pleased. For the sake of convenience, we all wore the dress of the common sailors, consisting of loose trousers and a jacket.

† In Japan the law or custom requires that the death of an officer should not be made public until the government has either filled up the vacancy, or conferred some rank on his eldest son. If he dies without a son, the rest of his family, or his nearest relations, receive some mark of favour, with the view of alleviating the grief occasioned by his loss. This secrecy is, however, only publicly observed; the news is generally communicated in a confidential way from one person to another, until, in a short time, it is known to everybody.

by a misfortune similar to our own. He had been in the service of the reigning Prince of Matsmai. As he was sailing through the Straits of Sangar, a storm arose; the ship lost her mast and rudder, and was driven on the coast of China, where the crew were all made prisoners by the Chinese, and kept in confinement for six years. Their explanations having at last proved satisfactory, they were set at liberty, and permitted to return to Japan. The law, excluding from the public service every Japanese who has lived in a foreign country, did not then exist in the principality of Matsmai, and Sampei was accordingly restored to the service of the Prince.\*

On our arrival at the castle, Mr. Moor and I were shown a letter which had been given to one of the Japanese on leaving the Russian vessel. We were informed that it could not be produced before in consequence of its having been mislaid; and we were now requested to translate it. We immediately perceived the cunning of the Japanese; for the fact was, that they could not show us the letter until they received an order to that effect from the capital. I smiled, and hinted that I knew the real cause which had prevented the letter from being sooner produced. Upon this the officers smiled likewise, and seemed not unwilling to acknowledge their readiness at inventing excuses.

The letter was addressed to Mr. Moor by Mr. Rudakoff, one of the lieutenants of the 'Diana;' and it stated, that the Japanese commandant at Kunashier, had sent back Mr. Rikord's messenger with the answer that we had all been put to death. Rikord, therefore, resolved to com-

\* We were, however, assured by some that this law is not enforced against Japanese who may visit China, but merely against those who have lived among Christians.

mence hostilities, and accordingly captured a Japanese vessel, the captain of which was the commander of ten ships.\* Our countrymen learned, from the crew of this vessel, that we were all living and in Matsmai; they, therefore, looked upon the account of our death as a fabrication imposed on the Japanese whom they had sent ashore, and resolved to discontinue hostilities. They, however, thought proper to detain the commander, four Japanese, and a Kurile, allowing the rest to depart with the vessel. They then determined to sail back to Kamtschatka, and to obtain from the Japanese more circumstantial evidence respecting us. Mr. Rudakoff concluded his letter by intimating that he would return to Matsmai in the following year.

We were requested to explain this letter, and then to take a copy of it, in order to make out a written translation. Whilst Mr. Moor was copying the letter, I asked the Japanese officers, whether the Governor of Kunashier had really returned such an answer to Mr. Rikord as that stated; and if so, what could have induced him to resort to a falsehood, which might have been attended with very disagreeable, if not dangerous consequences to Japan. "We know nothing of the matter," was their reply. On my inquiry whether such conduct was customary among them, they expressed some displeasure. The translation

\* He was not only the commander, but the owner of these ships. Besides being a rich merchant, he was a man of uncommon abilities and upright principles, and his countrymen treated him with the highest consideration. Even the superior officers of state showed him particular marks of respect. He was beloved by all who knew him. Captain Rikord and his officers must have immediately recognized him to be a person of distinction, as individuals of his rank have, when abroad, the privilege of wearing a sabre and dagger.



of Mr. Rudakoff's letter was forwarded to Yeddo without delay.

On the 8th of November, the Japanese, whom Captain Rikord had put ashore at Kunashier, arrived at Matsmai, and were quartered in the house whence we had made our escape. They all underwent an examination; and Kumaddscherō, who was present, informed us, that his countrymen spoke unfavourably of the Russians; and that Leonsaimo praised Irkutsk, but represented Okotzk, and the whole eastern part of Siberia, as being a poor miserable country, where he saw scarcely any human beings, except beggars and government officers. These Japanese remained about a week in Matsmai, and were then sent to Yeddo.

In December, Kumaddscherō informed us, as a great secret, that he had dreamed we were all liberated. He added, that he was sure his dream would be realized, for he had learned from an officer of distinction, just returned from the capital, that our case was expected to have a favourable issue; and that Mr. Rikord's generous treatment of the Japanese, whom he had seized on board the vessel off Kunashier, had not only gained him the esteem of the government, but likewise of all the capital.\*

\* Kumaddscherō, and other Japanese, told us that their countrymen, who had been seized on board the vessel, spoke in the most satisfactory way of the conduct of Captain Rikord. When he heard that we were still living, he ordered all the Japanese who had been taken to be unbound, treated them with great attention, and gave them presents. The wife of the rich Japanese merchant (the owner of the ten ships) whom he conveyed to Russia, was in the captured vessel. Captain Rikord took her on board the 'Diana,' and desired the Russian women to give her refreshments, and to show her over the ship. But she wept the whole time, seemed greatly terrified, and paid attention to nothing. When Captain Rikord sent her back to her husband's vessel, he presented

A note from Mr. Moor confirmed this intelligence, with the addition, that he had learned from one of the guards, that our property, which had been conveyed to Yeddo, was sent back to Matsmai, and that thoughts were entertained of restoring us to our native country.

A ray of hope now began to dawn upon us, and seemed to rescue us from utter despair. Thus perplexed between the expectation of liberty and distrust of the Japanese, we entered upon the new year, 1813.

During the month of January we received several letters from Teske, in answer to those which we had addressed to him. In one of these letters, he told us that the decision of our affair was still very doubtful, as various circumstances tended to prepossess the government against us; and that all that had been alleged in our justification had hitherto been insufficient to remove old and firmly rooted prejudices. Teske appropriately reminded us of the Japanese proverb: "A fog cannot be dispelled with a fan."\* This communication from our best friend was very discouraging; and besides, our guards confirmed the

her with an amber necklace, which the Japanese valued at thirty of their gold pieces (a coin about the same weight as a Russian Imperial). He then permitted the merchant to write to his relations, informing them that he should certainly be brought back in the following year, and that in the meanwhile, he was lodged in the cabin with Captain Rikord, with whom he was to reside until his return to Japan. These marks of attention to their countrymen pleased the Japanese exceedingly. Kummadschero assured us that Captain Rikord at first intended to take only this merchant and a Kurile as his interpreter; but four Japanese voluntarily offered to remain with their master.

\* In all countries people form their proverbs from those objects which are immediately before their eyes. The coasts of Japan are frequently enveloped in fog. From the age of five, the Japanese of both sexes carry fans during the summer season. These circumstances have, of course, given rise to the proverb.

intelligence we had already heard, that the old bunyo, Arrao-Madsimano-Kami had been removed from his office at Matsmai, and that another was already appointed to fill his place.

To this unlucky circumstance was added another, which occasioned us no less uneasiness. In the beginning of February, all the letters which Teske had addressed to Mr. Moor were seized.\* One of our attendants, whom Teske's brother had intrusted to carry a letter, was so imprudent as to deliver it in the presence of the sentinel on duty. The latter observed it, and instantly raised an alarm. The servant was discharged, a sergeant or corporal was sent to superintend our military guard,† and we were treated with some degree of discourtesy; but on our complaining of the conduct of our attendants, they were ordered to behave as respectfully towards us as before. What we most of all feared was, that the correspondence of our friend Teske might be attended with serious consequences to himself, as his letters contained many expressions calculated to give offence to the Japanese Government.

In the middle of February Kumaddschero informed us that our business was settled; but that nobody, without incurring the risk of a severe punishment, could venture to make known the decision before the arrival of the new

\* Mr. Chlebnikoff and I fortunately had time to burn those which he had written to us.

† Old men are usually appointed to the rank, which corresponds with that of a sergeant or corporal. They are styled "Kumino-Kasshra," or rice-commissaries, because their business chiefly consists in receiving rice from the magazines, and dealing it out among the soldiers; for in Japan, a portion of the soldiers' pay is given in rice. In Matsmai, and on the Kurile Islands, the soldiers receive a small sum of money along with the rice.

bunyo, whose name was Chattori Bingono-Kami. He, however, assured us that the Japanese Government had decided on nothing to our disadvantage. This piece of news plunged us into the most perplexing uncertainty. What resolution had been adopted, we could not possibly guess, since all that could be collected from Kumaddschero's information was, that it was neither good nor bad. We anxiously waited for the appearance of the new governor, on whose arrival the riddle was to receive its solution.

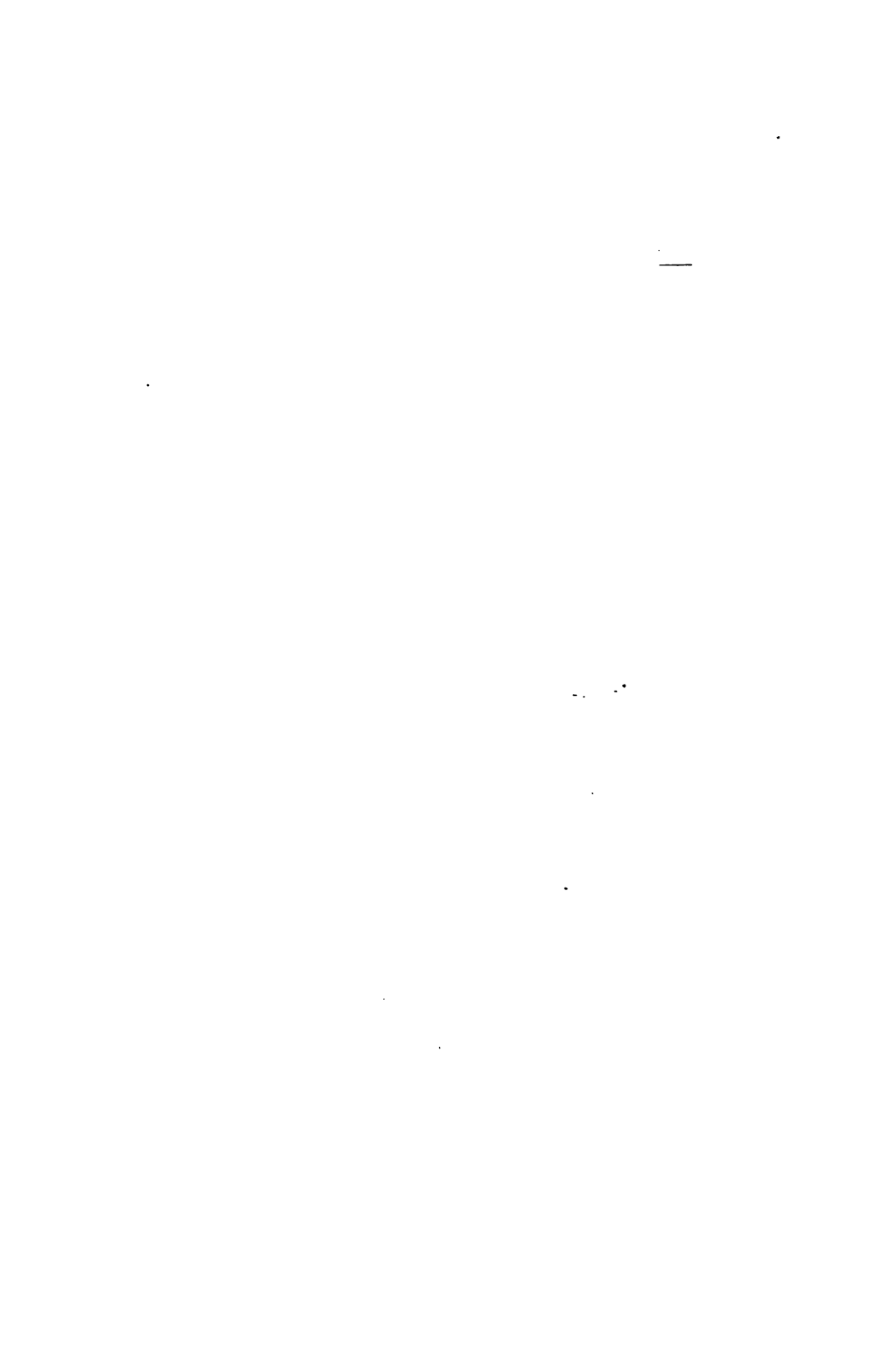
Mr. Chlebnikoff had been extremely melancholy ever since the 11th of March. He sometimes tasted no food for whole days together, and was unable to sleep. In the course of time, however, his spirits began to revive; but his health was never completely restored, until he embarked on board the 'Diana.'

END OF VOL. I.

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